



THE COVER: Detail of *dagupan*
(barkcloth) made from an
inner bark of a tree stripped
off in layers, soaked, beaten,
dried, and flattened, used as
a g-string or a skirt among
the Dumagats of Zamboanga,
Isabela.

Photographed by
Ramon L. Fernandez

Barkcloth cover of
the UP Anthropology Museum

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THE CHAPTER DESIGNS: Adapted from
Reyes, Roberto de la Cruz, 1975,
"Santo Art," *Journal of the
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A PRIMER ON THE NEGRITOS OF THE PHILIPPINES

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P R E F A C E

The preparation of this work was a timely and meritorious undertaking and its goal has been attained in a very satisfactory manner. As its title suggests, it is primarily a reader, which brings together in a handy volume selected texts from the pertinent anthropological literature on the Negritos of the Philippines.

As the compilers make it clear when stating the "Rationale" for this collection of readings, it was not their intention to trace the history of these widely scattered ethnic groups or to make a systematic comparison between them and to analyze the various aspects of their cultural life. Their aim was a practical one; to be of service to those concerned with the socio-economic and other needs of the present-day Negritos by providing them with the indispensable anthropological background information. And this is just what the Primer offers: a fairly comprehensive description of the ecological situations of the Negritos, of their patterns of life, as well as of their dissimilar interethnic and intercultural situations in which they now find themselves.

As Fred Eggan had occasion to point out several years ago (1974), in the Philippines anthropological viewpoints and knowledge were applied to the solution of the problems of the cultural communities as early as the first decade of this century — long before applied anthropology, this noble and humane offshoot of social anthropology, became a branch of learning in its own right. In the Philippines, no less than in other parts of the world, there has been a growing awareness of the expectations which applied anthropology is called upon to fulfill. This Primer may rightly be considered both an outstanding example of this awareness and a fine response to those expectations. That the Foundation "Philippine Business for Social Progress" sponsored the preparation and publication of the Primer, is further proof of both.

More than ten years ago (1967) I remarked in an article, which was the fruit of work I undertook with my students in anthropology at the University of San Carlos — the article, in fact, from which Fred Eggan quoted in the reference given above — that the assistance which anthropologists can give is not of itself enough to insure the success of any program of assistance to the cultural communities. They can only provide the basic facts, concepts and perspectives that may shed light on the problems of minority groups so that proper measures can be formulated for the solution of those problems.

The Primer offers a synoptic view of facts and cues in this vital matter, which not only concerns the full, and to the extent possible, painless integration of the Negritos into national life; it also has to do with national greatness and dignity.

The study is most highly recommended to educators, administrators, entrepreneurs, members of humanitarian agencies, ministers of religion, and, finally, to any person in a position to contribute to the noble goal of making the Negritos (like the members of the other cultural communities) fullfledged Filipino citizens. I have mentioned educators in the first place because whatever man plans to undertake depends for its success primarily upon seeing things for what they are; it depends on clear vision, and who but the educators can impart this essential quality to the mind of the country's youth?

Let me conclude with the hope that this Primer will help create such vision, to be followed by understanding and action on a broad social front.

Rudolf Rahmann, S.V.D.

February 1, 1979

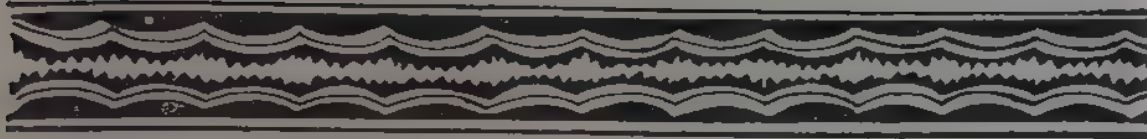
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INTRODUCTION



Cultural communities, traditionally and derogatorily referred to as pagans, minorities and wild mountain people, make up eight per cent of the present Philippine population. Composed approximately of forty-two major groups, they are characterized by their unique cultures, their predominantly non-Christian beliefs and their relatively isolated habitation.

Formerly, they lived in local self-sufficiency and in harmony with human and natural ecology. They possessed their own traditions which permitted them to maintain their own particular identity through generations. Presently, however, they are unceasingly subjected to the exploitation of their resources for agricultural and industrial development and to the migration of lowlanders into the areas which are their ancestral lands.

With the physical encroachment, there is a corresponding barrage of culture elements foreign to them. Since the incomers belong to the dominant westernized communities, they are in a position to effect changes in the resource base and ultimately in the

traditional lifeways of these indigenous groups. Due to the novelty of imposed change, the cultural communities do not possess the mechanisms needed for rapid cultural transition and general cultural breakdown may be difficult to avoid.

In recent years many concerned agencies, foundations and individuals have been involved in projects which attempt to facilitate and ease the traumas that the cultural communities experience when cultural change is rapidly imposed. It has been observed, however, that the development, evaluation and monitoring of such projects have failed to consciously consider the communities' cultural realities and traditions; these include their value systems, social structures, kinship patterns, leadership dynamics and religious practices. In effect, there has been a tendency to introduce "pre-packaged" programs tested out in the lowlands, thus completely disregarding the necessary foundation on which to develop a realistic and far reaching project.

One cultural community which has been the subject of many of these projects is

the Negrito people. The Negritos are among the most depressed and exploited of all the cultural communities. These short-statured, dark-skinned and curly-haired nomads, who were the first known immigrants into the country, are now threatened with physical and psychological displacement from their lands.

Because of their physical appearance they are also the group which suffers most discrimination since they do not conform to the lowland concept of beauty and normality. The great isolation in which they previously lived has also kept them ignorant of lowland ways, methods of cultivation and the monetary economy.

The Negritos number 15,000 according to a 1960 survey and are the most geographically widespread of all the cultural communities. They can be found in greatest concentration in the mountain ranges of Zambales, Bataan, Western Pampanga, Western Tarlac and Southwestern Pangasinan; along the eastern margins north and south of the island of Luzon; Panay; Negros Island and Northeastern Mindanao, specifically Surigao and Agusan. Previously engaged mainly in hunting and gathering, a majority of them are now undergoing a transitional period in the change from their traditional mode of production to that of sedentary cultivation.

It has been observed that in spite of the fact that the Negrito has attracted a core of social science experts as well as some agencies, most development efforts for the benefit of the former have been fragmented and situated in a vacuum. Oftentimes, unless the researcher serves as the action-practitioner, there is no linkage between

research and action agency. Many problems, unnecessary as they may be, emerge in this situation.

A. Existing Realities among Negritos of the Philippines

As mentioned above, the Negritos are basically hunting and gathering peoples possessing a subsistence and barter economy. They enjoy freedom of physical mobility as evidenced by their being labeled as nomadic (unsedentary life style). Ecological balance is continually maintained since there exists minimal exploitation of resources. Rituals and other beliefs contribute to a world view of man's union with nature. Thus a keen sensitivity to both human and the non-human environment has been cultivated. Negrito knowledge regarding forest flora and fauna has established them respectively as excellent herbal medicine men and hunters.

The fact that the race has survived through hundreds of years shows their ability to create systems and structures which cushion or smoothly usher change.

However, in recent years, there has been an ever-increasing drive by government and religious and private sectors to reach out to the Negritos for various reasons, be they development of resources, assistance, conversion or plain interest in the study of their culture.

This massive interest in the Negritos has created tremendous changes or threat of changes such as the following:

1. shrinkage of forests due to development projects causing depletion of resources

2. acquisition or purchase of lands from the Negritos
3. introduction of a new culture
4. introduction of a cash economy
5. intensification of agricultural production
6. introduction of new consumer needs

With these, the Negritos are faced with phenomena with which their existing cultural mechanisms cannot effectively cope. A number have already resorted to mendicancy and drunkenness. The inevitable acculturative process improperly introduced has taken its toll as reflected in the following:

1. Some flora and fauna necessary for food, clothing and shelter are no longer available due to forest depletion. Subsequently, soil erosion and loss of soil fertility have resulted.
2. There are beginnings of expulsion, relocation and serfdom. Resettlement within a limited geographic area is not in consonance with the Negrito concept of space which requires a larger perimeter for mobility. Relocation means having to sever links with ancestral lands — this could cause severe psychological dislocation as observed by social scientists working with Negrito groups. Serfdom and tenancy create a mendicant attitude and ultimately a loss of self-respect.
3. The majority of the introduced low-land cultural elements may not be in congruence with Negrito folkways.
4. The monetary economy is totally alien to a self-subsistent people engaging

in barter trade. Furthermore, Negritos are very poor with numbers.

5. Agricultural production does not appeal to the Negritos. Their interest and aptitude lie in hunting and food gathering. Agriculture is perceived as being devoid of thrill and challenge, of being too structured. This is aggravated by the inability of the Negritos to withstand long exposure to heat and sun since they have been used to the shaded, cool environment of the forest.
6. Consumer items introduced are not within the purchasing power of the Negritos.

(B) Existing Structures Supporting Negritos

A survey conducted in July 1977, shows that considerable amounts of written material dealing with various aspects of the Negrito culture have been produced. Correspondingly, ongoing research focused on this scattered ethnic group has occupied much of the attention of social scientists in this country. On the other hand, a number of individuals/agencies (*see Appendix for listing*), through their present involvement, have pronounced their commitment to development programs geared toward assistance to Negritos.

To complement the work of research and social development groups, the government through Presidential Decree No. 410 intends to ensure that the Negrito lands, occupied and cultivated by them, become their legally acknowledged and protected property. In addition, the forestry code of the Philippines has been revised

through the Presidential Decree No. 705. This decree seeks to control indiscriminate deforestation by logging companies and to implement a program to protect the natural resources of the forest areas.

C. The Rationale for this Study

It was in view of all the above factors that this study emerged. Its explicit intention is to provide agencies, foundations and individuals with what we hope is a more comprehensive picture of Negrito culture. It is also our hope that develop-

ment projects involving the various Negrito groups will utilize the material in an effort to provide the Negritos with assistance which objectively caters for their needs. To plan and implement development projects which overlook or dismiss the following aspects of Negrito culture is almost inevitably to invite failure.

The Negrito people can ill afford to have failures imposed upon them. The forces of modern expansion have left them with little time to accommodate developmental errors.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORY



The geographical origin of the Negritos, like many other preliterate island people, has never been clearly established. Furthermore, attempts to link them ethnically to physiologically similar types such as the African pygmy have proven tenuous in the extreme. Paul Schebesta in his foreword to John Garvan's *The Negritos of the Philippines* claims:

I am probably the only anthropologist who knows both the Asiatic Negritos and the African Pygmies by personal experience. Their comparison showed that they form by no means a racial or cultural unit (1963; Foreword)

What most students of the Negritos are agreed upon is that they did not originate in the Philippines or the other East Indian islands where they are to be found.

Tentative hypotheses, based on minimal archaeological evidence, have at times suggested that the first Negritos migrated from mainland Asia on land bridges which existed some 25,000 to 30,000 years ago.

Kreiger favoured this idea but recognized the flimsy nature of the evidence:

The question as to the origin of the Negrito is a debatable one. Unfortunately, conclusive archaeological evidence as to the geographical source of this pygmy black race does not exist. We find remnants of the Negrito occupying secluded interior areas in Luzon, Mindanao and other Philippine Islands as well as neighbouring islands. In appearance, the Negrito's resemblance to certain pygmy African tribes is striking. Presumably also, his early migrations were without the aid of advanced types of boats. Nowhere is the Negrito a good boatman or builder of boats, his major achievement being, perhaps, crudely hollowed-out logs not at all comparable in design or seaworthiness to the smaller of the Filipino out-rigger boats. It is suggested that distribution of the Negritos may have occurred at a very remote time when the Malay Peninsula was, at any rate, still connected

with Sumatra and the other Sunda Islands. If this assumption is granted, a further assumption must be made that the large Philippine Islands were connected and the Negritos' migrations were practically by land. (1942: 41-42)

At an earlier date Kroeber also sought to link the Philippine Negrito with other groups elsewhere:

There are at least two other parts of the East Indies in which the presence of Negritos has been definitely confirmed. One of these is the interior of the Malay Peninsula, where the Semang are of this type; the other group comprises the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean north of Sumatra. There have also been reports of Negritos or Negrito-like people in other parts of the East Indies, as in Java, Borneo and New Guinea, but these have all been disputed, and the most conservative opinion of the present day holds their case to be unproved. (1919: 35-37)

There is one difficulty in Kroeber's suggestion and it involves the language spoken by the Andamanese which is in no way connected with that spoken by the Negrito groups elsewhere. He made an interesting attempt to overcome this difficulty but without the support of any tangible evidence:

The Andamanese speak a peculiar language which it has not yet been

possible to connect with any other variety of human speech. This they seem to have preserved only because the remoteness and small size of their islands drew no immigrants and preserved them from all foreign contacts. It is conceivable that the Semang and the Philippine Negritos at one time spoke dialects akin to those which the Andamanese have preserved. (ibid)

Whatever their origins, Beyer and de Veyra give a glowing account of the ancestors of these 'little people' in the Philippines:

They were great hunters, and their tools very much better than the weapons of the hulking First Man who came here. The Little People used many small stone implements, tipping their arrows and darts with well-made arrowheads. In addition, they traded more or less with their neighbors, exchanging forest products such as rattan and beeswax for cloth and ornaments. The Little People did not depend on caves for shelter at first, they built crude lean-to shelters of palm or banana leaves fastened to a frame, which kept them out of the rain. The Little People had learned the secret of making fire, one of the giant strides in culture. They rubbed two sticks together until friction ignited the tinder or dry cogon grass fed into the friction areas.

Later on, the lean-to was developed

into a family sized shelter, as the Little People advanced and improved their knowledge. (1952:4-5)

The authors of the above account use archaeological evidence to support their statement. Artifacts found in areas where the Negritos lived show evidence of a re-

latively advanced way of dealing with the environment. If and when similar research is undertaken in all other Negrito areas, a full comparative picture may emerge of the differences and similarities amongst the various Negrito groups throughout South East Asia.

CHAPTER TWO

ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING



A. Topography

Traditionally the Negrito dwelt in the forests of the mountains where there were abundant sources of food which was hunted or gathered. Before the onslaught of deforestation, the Negritos in all the regions of the Philippines lived in a somewhat similar environment. In some areas this has now changed due to acculturation to lowland values. (For a fuller discussion of this process see the chapter devoted to social change.)

Estioko and Griffin provide a graphic scenario of the environment of a Negrito group, the Ebuked Agta, in Northeastern Luzon. Prior to contact with lowlanders, and indeed in some areas yet, this description would be typical of the environment of the Negrito:

Part of the region's isolation can be credited to its rugged topography. The north-south axis of the chain rises and falls in a line of ridges and masses peaking over 1,600 meters in elevation. The eastern side of the moun-

tains falls rapidly to the sea, the distance from the divide to the coast being only ten to twelve kilometers. Hardly a piece of level terrain is found except along rivers and, occasionally, ridge tops.

Water in its quantities and movements is perhaps the key element to understand. Water has formed the present topography of the Sierra Madre. The rivers, streams, springs, and ground water have cut rapidly down through the diverse geologic structures of the mountains, leaving gully and landslide-scarred hillsides along all water courses. Numerous rapids maintain a strong current — an active erosional force even in the dry season. The hillsides often retain little soil. Instead, slippery, rotten rocks and weakly rooted vegetation intermix with giant dipterocarps and tangles of dead and fallen tree trunks. (1975: 240)

Vanoverbergh further describes the terrain and weather of Allakapan, Cagayan Valley in Northern Luzon:

The district of Allakapan is a part of the Cagayan Valley, which is interspersed with small hills, that augment in altitude the farther they are away from the Rio Grande, on either side. Its climate is hot, and rainfall is very abundant. There is a kind of rainy season, from November to March, when it drizzles very often, sometimes for several days and nights consecutively; then a short dry season, followed by the ordinary tropical rainy season, when torrential rains pour down in the afternoon almost every day. The season of the typhoons, which are very severe in these parts, extends from May to November, but the months of August and September are generally the worst, and one or more destructive typhoons may be expected almost every year.

Most of the Negritos live in the neighborhood of Christian Iloko settlers, usually near the brink of the forest or on small forested hills, while the Christians prefer level places or small bare hills in the immediate vicinity of their rice fields. Other Negritos take their abode in some clearing inside the forest at a small distance from the cultivated areas. A few remain deep in the forest and rarely emerge from their recesses. (1929:39)

Fox distinguishes between the habitat of "deeper" Negritos and acculturated ones.

The deeper Negritos live adjacent to the primary forest, and through the practices of burning to clear the slopes for planting, as well as for hunting,

are continually causing the forest lives to recede. The more acculturated pygmies live on the many fungi-like, grass table lands which have been formed by the numerous streams, all having their sources on Mt. Pinatubo, slashing down through the lower elevations. The only dipterocarp forest surviving in this latter area are found in the deep ravines. Undoubtedly the whole region was once heavily forested, but due to the continual burning by the Negritos the tough weeds and grasses have invaded the plateaus, and have become dominant.

Second-growth forest are found on the tips of of the table lands, and on many of the ravine slopes which have not been subject to recurrent burning. (1953:183)

In Negros, Oracion states that the habitat of the Atas appears as a chain of mountains, nowhere of any great height, covered with dense forest. There are no large streams. Except for the kaingins (forest clearings) of the Atas, the place is covered with rain forest of mixed type trees. (1963:58-59)

B. Climate

The climate of Northeast Luzon is described by Estioko and Griffin:

All Northeast Luzon experiences pronounced wet and dry seasons. Little rain falls in May, June, and July; the daytime temperatures reach to 100° F, and the forest becomes very dry. Rains start falling increasingly heavily as early as September, although November usually has the hardest,

steadiest rainfall. In October, November, and December, the rivers are often in flood, running easily two meters above dry season levels, and are both dangerous and uncrossable. Rivers rise even after moderate rains, soon becoming swift and silt-laden. (1975:240-241)

Oracion made the following observations in the Visayas:

In Negros, the climate is warm and moist, and fairly uniform through the year. The average temperature in this area is about 80 degree F. The lowest temperature is recorded during December and January and the highest in February, March and April. The greater part of the rain falls during the north-east monsoon from November through December and during the southwest monsoon from June through October. (1963:58-59)

C. Flora and Fauna

The keen knowledge of the Negritos regarding their plant and animal resources has been acclaimed by most researchers.

Fox devotes one publication to a thorough discussion of Pinatubo Negrito flora. He describes the plants of American origin; plants of purposeful historical introduction in the Philippines (other than from the new world); useful plants accidentally disseminated by man during the historic and/or prehistoric period; cultivated, food plants of prehistoric introduction; cultivated, semi-cultivated and spontaneous fruit trees of prehistoric introduction; wild food plants; native plants useful for purposes other than food — clothing, bow and arrow, fish poisons, fish traps, animal and bird traps and cordage; and drinkable water from plants.

Fox further noted the following:
The most characteristic flora of the entire Pinatubo area is the banana which occurs in tremendous stands. Huge clumps of bamboo which are extremely useful to the Negritos, dot the rims of the plateaus, and many rattans are found in most slopes. (1953:184)

Estioko and Griffin suggested that:

The marked seasonality influences the composition of the dipterocarp forest, permitting the adaptation of tuberous plants as well as ferns, rattans, and the larger commercially valuable trees sought by loggers. Plants include several species which store large quantities of nutrients in their tubers, growing and becoming most harvestable during the rainy season. Thorn-laden ferns and rattans abound, the latter providing food for man, birds, and for the game man hunts — wild pig, deer and monkey. The cover of larger trees varies according to topography and elevation, but suffice it to say now that the Agta differentiate two types of forest within the mountains: one area of thick growth of the large tall hard-wood trees, and a second area of the same growth of trees but "less" thickly spaced. Deer are most abundant in the former and wild pigs are numerous in both. (1975:241)

According to Cadeliña there are three types of animal life that they reckon with quite significantly: the terrestrial, the arboreal or aerial and the aquatic:

Under the terrestrial category, they relate themselves quite significantly with the pigs (wild and domesticated), deer, chicken (wild and domesticat-

ed), cats, dogs and lizards. Production has been largely affected by the damaging attack of wild pigs and chicken on their newly planted and fruit bearing corn, rice and root crops. Domesticated animals like pigs and chicken are raised to augment household income. These animals' droppings as well as those coming from the undomesticated ones are believed to help improve and increase soil fertility. Aside from the economic benefits the Negritos derive from these animals the latter also serve as very important ceremonial objects during rituals. Cats are used as house and plot guards against mice that also destroy crops. Dogs are utilized as major aids of organized hunting groups to chase the game. (1977:19-22)

Krieger recounts the absence of domesticated animals other than the dog and few mountain chickens used as decoys in trapping wild fowl:

Monitor lizards locally known as *halo* are notorious predators on their domesticated fowls. These reptiles are likewise hunted for food.

The arboreal or the aerial animals include the rhesus monkeys, the *uwak*, the *banog*, *sankil* or *ananangkil*, and the *bukaw*. The monkeys are another havoc-bringer on fruit bearing corn. The *uwak* have to be watched very carefully because they prey on fowls and also destroy young corn and fruit. The *bukaw* is considered an important indicator for the presence of wild pig.

The aquatic animals are limited to freshwater shrimps, mudfish, freshwater eel, and water lizard, locally known as *ibid*. (1942:42)

Negros Island Negritos, as mentioned by Oracion, interact with various fauna:

The only mammals of any appreciable size in this area are the wild pig (*bakatin*), wild cat (*singgalong maral*) and deer (*lagsao*). Other mammals are found which belong to species, as well as fruit bats called *kabog* or *al-al*. Many species of birds peculiar to the island are catalogued by Prof. D. S. Rabor, foremost authority on the fauna of Negros Island. The reptiles include a considerable number of snakes, and a few lizards, the most common being the *halo*. (1963:58)

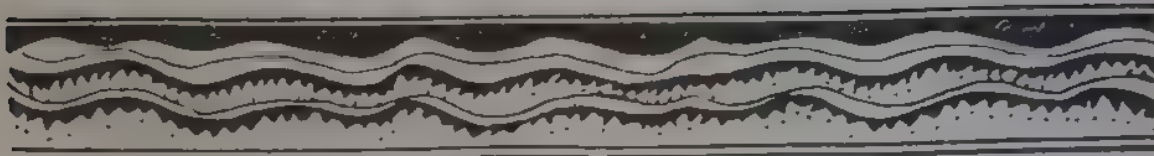
Northeastern Luzon has similar animals as indicated in Estioko and Griffin's article:

The larger mammals of the forest are limited to deer, wild pigs, and monkey. Years ago, feral carabao were found but none are seen today. The largest predator is a wild cat, not much bigger than a domesticated tomcat. Several rodents and small carnivores complete the significant mammals (often a hunter's point of view). Edible lizards of up to one meter in length frequent streams and river banks. Crocodiles are scarce, living only near the sea. Bats and snakes abound in specific locales. The *kalaw*, or large hornbill, heads the list of a myriad of birds found in all habitats. Wild chicken, ducks, and lesser hornbills are among the useful birds. (1975:241)

The Negritos not only possess knowledge about the flora and fauna but they are also aware of the uses of both types of resources for subsistence, clothing and shelter.

CHAPTER THREE

DEMOGRAPHIC AND PHYSICAL CHARACTER



A. Nomenclature

✓The generic term Negrito obviously derives from the arrival of the Spaniards. Negro in Spanish means black while by adding the suffix the diminutive emerges i.e. 'little black one.' The names given to the various Negrito groups vary, however, according to the individual group's location and the individual applying the term. In some instances, where the names have been applied by non-Negritos, the group will resent the term considering it derogatory. Garvan illustrates this point:

As a general rule, a given group of Negritos will call themselves by the name given by their Filipino neighbours if they are on good terms with those neighbours. But if they feel that a certain name is applied to them as a term of contempt, as is the case quite frequently, they will adopt for themselves some other designation. In many places Negritos like the designation Baluga which signifies to them hybrid and of which they are proud

wherever they consider it an honor to be allied by wedlock to Filipino congeners. In other places, again, the term Baluga is opprobrious because it is applied in a contemptuous sense, viz. "brackish, half-salt and half-fresh." Ita and Aita are very common designations for Negritos in Luzon, but it is resented by groups here and there as a term of contempt used by conjectures as to the derivation of the their neighbors for them . . . Various word Ita which occurs in such variant form as Aita, Eta, Ata, Ati, Agta have been made. Some would have it from the Malay word Hitam (black) and some from Itum (black) in so many Philippine languages. (1963:6)

In Luzon, Vanoverbergh gives support to the idea of the Negrito being proud of his hybrid designation when he claims "The Iloko settlers and the Ilongot generally call them *balluga*, and that is also the name accepted by the Negritos as their characteristic tribal appellation." (1929:39)

Estioko and Griffin raise another interesting point in showing how some Negrito groups emphatically differentiate themselves from other groups. In Northeastern Luzon one group call themselves Ebuked from the Filipino *bukid* (mountain). The authors state that another group, which has had contact with lowlanders, are somewhat disparaging of their more mountainous cousins:

In fact, no Agta we know will admit to being ebuked. The Ebuked always live 'over those mountains,' or those 'bad Agta' living elsewhere. Generally the term is applied to Agta who live away from lowlanders, and who retain a more old fashioned life style. As the root word bukud or mountain, implies, ebuked applies only to Agta who still reside in the mountains proper, away from the clearings of Malay Filipinos. (1975:237)

Vanoverbergh provides another exercise in the derivation of Negrito nomenclature when he introduces the group name *Pugut*. For him "The term *Pugut* seems a very appropriate name, and this for two reasons: first, the color of the Negritos' skin, and second, their mode of life in the dark forests, from which they emerge only at rare intervals." (1925:185)

Research shows the term to derive from *pugot* which has both different and related meanings in many local languages. In Ilokano it is synonymous with *ita* or *ayta* or *agta* which have been liberally applied to Negrito people. It also means in Ilokano a goblin or elf or forest spirit. In those provinces which use Ilokano the term is used equally for anyone having a dark skin. In Cebuano and Bikolano a dimi-

nutive meaning also appears: a person having a small mouth in Cebuano and dwarfed in Bikolano.

B. Geographical Distribution

Although Garvan did not exhaust the distribution and designation of the Negrito peoples, his extensive travels do provide a useful guide to both these characteristics:

<u>Province</u>	<u>Nomenclature</u>
Tayabas (Now Quezon)	Abian, Bihug, Umag, Ata, Manidi, Atid, Itim. Ita, Agta, Aita.
N. Camarines	Abian, Bihug.
S. Camarines	Abian, Atid, Manidi, Agta.
Bulakan	Baluga, Dumagta.
Albay	Agta.
Sorsogon	Agta.
Pampanga	Ita, Aita.
Bataan	Ita, Aita.
Zambales	Ita, Ta'un Pangolo, Mangayan.
Tarlac	Kulaman, Baluga, Sambal, Aburlan.
Rizal	Aita, Baluga
Ilokos	Agta.
Apayao Cagayan	Agta. Kofun, Diango, Paranan, Assao, Ugsing, Aita.
Negros Occidental	Ati, Aata, Agta. (1963:9-10)

From other research we know the small group in Mindanao to be called the *Manobo*.

Krieger also gave a comprehensive description of the geographical locations of the Negrito groups in the Philippines:

More Negritos are found in the Philippine Islands than elsewhere in Indonesia; also more Negritos are found in Luzon than in all the other islands of the archipelago together. The Luzon group, largest in numbers and probably purest in type, occupies the Zambales mountain range embracing the largest part of the mountainous region of the provinces of Bataan, Zambales, Pampanga and Tarlac. They are known locally as Aeta. The Negritos living on Mount Mariveles in Bataan Peninsula are among the most primitive of all human beings and are a mild and peaceful people. Besides the Zambales mountain groups, Negritos are found in 11 or 12 other provinces of Luzon. In Sorsogon and Albay at the southern end of Luzon there are a few scattered families of mixed types, living near or among the Bicol population. In the vicinity of Mount Isarog, in the Camarines, there is a much larger number running wild in the mountains, but they also are of mixed blood. Negritos are found pret-

ty well scattered over Tayabas; in the northern part they approach more clearly to a pure type. In these provinces they are known locally under a variety of names, as Tagta, Aeta, Baluga and Dumagat. All along the eastern coast of Luzon, in Isabela and Cagayan provinces, there are large numbers of Negritos. This eastern coast region of Northern Luzon is yet to be explored, but information so far received shows that the Negritos have intermingled with the primitive mountain Indonesian, and that they live a wild, wandering life, subsisting largely on game, edible roots, and wild fruits. In western half of Northern Luzon there are only one or two small groups of Negritos, as in Abra and Ilocos Norte.

In the southern islands, Panay stands next to Luzon in the number of its Negrito inhabitants. They are known as Ati, and are found all over the interior mountainous portion of the island.

In Negros, the island which presumably takes its name from the large number of Negritos living there in early times, the Negrito population is now very small, and is confined to the extreme southern and northern regions. (1942:40-41)

I LULON

1 MESITO

1. K. A. G. A. (Apo pua)
2. K. A. G. A.
3. K. A. G. A.
4. K. A. G. A.
5. K. A. G. A.
6. K. A. G. A.
7. K. A. G. A.
8. K. A. G. A.
9. K. A. G. A.

II MINDORO

1. K. A. G. A.
2. K. A. G. A.
3. K. A. G. A.
4. K. A. G. A.
5. K. A. G. A.
6. K. A. G. A.

III VISAYAS

1 MESITO

1. K. A. G. A.
2. K. A. G. A.

IV PALAWAN

1. K. A. G. A.
2. K. A. G. A.
3. K. A. G. A.
4. K. A. G. A.
5. K. A. G. A.

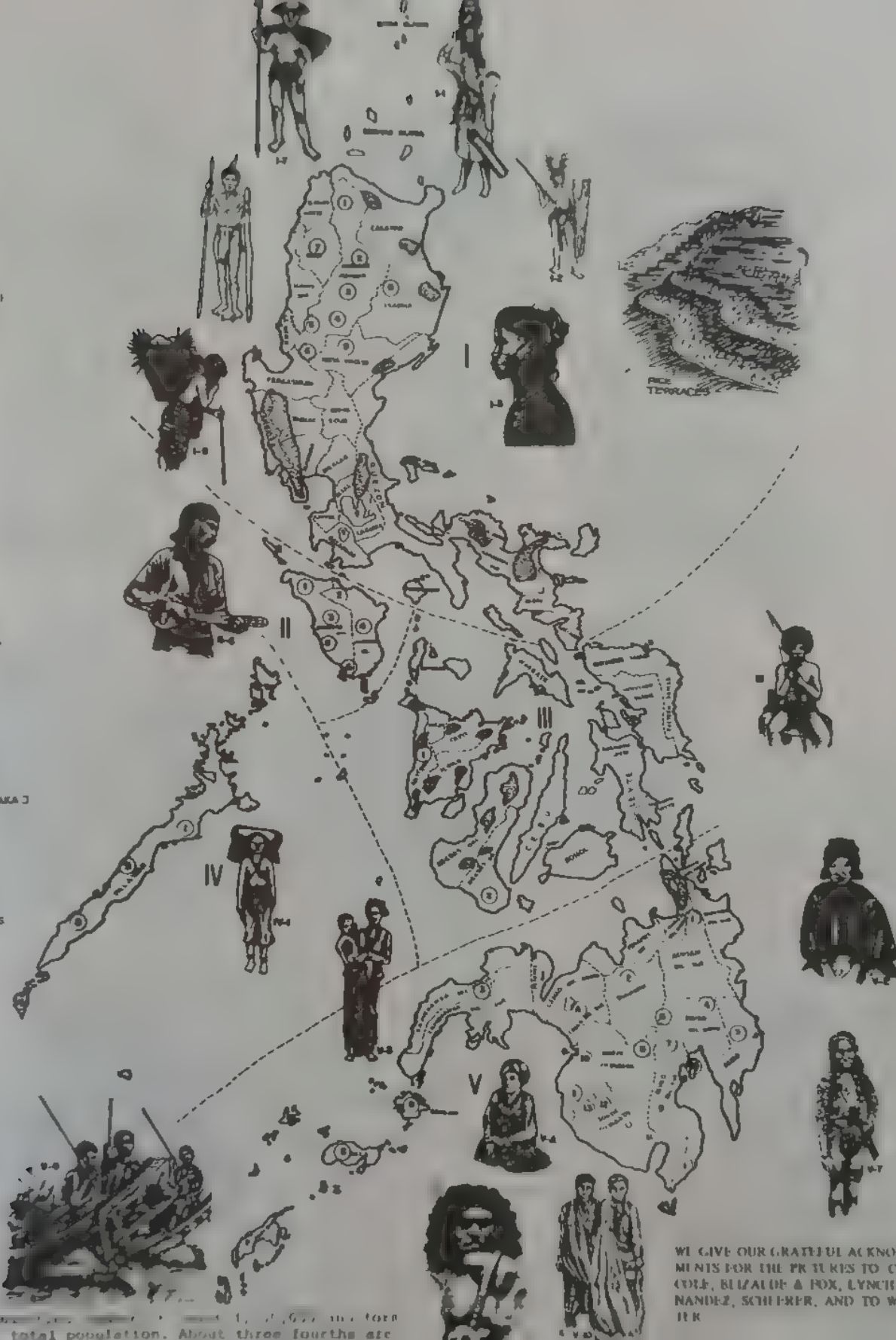
V MINDANAO

1 MESITO

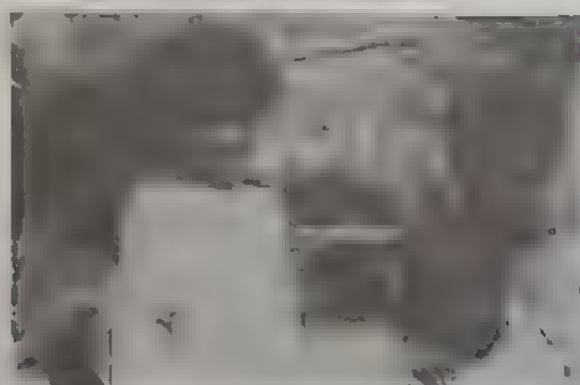
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12. K. A. G. A.
13. K. A. G. A.

MUSLIM GROUPS

1. K. A. G. A.
2. K. A. G. A.
3. K. A. G. A.
4. K. A. G. A.
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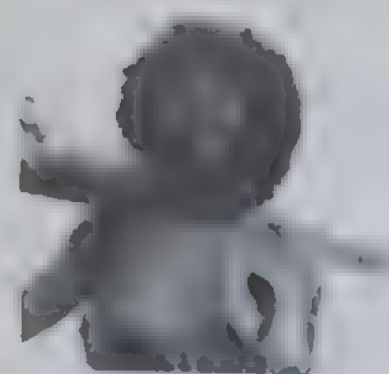


WE GIVE OUR GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS FOR THE PHOTOS TO COOPER (1911), BLIZALUP & FOX, LYNCH & FERNANDEZ, SCHIEFER, AND TO WORCESTER (1911).



**Negritos from various areas of the Philippines: Cagayan,
Camarines Sur, Negros Occidental and Surigao del Norte.**

**(Photos by ISRAEL CABANILLA, PAFID, PBSP DEVCOM
UNIT, REYLAZO)**



C. Physical Characteristics

Garvan recognized that it was extremely difficult to generalize as to physical type when describing the Negrito. For this reason when he defined the physical nature of the people, he confined himself to what he considered to be the pure-blooded type. A series of Garvan's observations are listed below but it should perhaps be stressed that during the long period which he lived with the people he came to love them and because of this his descriptions might verge on the idealistic:

He is on the whole symmetrical, graceful and in fine proportion, with broad chest, square pectorals and, if anything, thick neck. The only disproportion not noticeable at first perhaps consists in the length of the arms and the comparative diminutiveness of the calves.

Very frequently the women are erect and graceful and, where they have been accustomed to carry loads, display a graceful curvature of spine. Obesity is rare. It is very difficult in the absence of a standard to give a definite idea of the color of these little people. Let me say in general that they are so many shades darker than normal Filipinos, that is to say their color would vary from a dark copper to sooty, to a dark that is never of the lustrous African black tint.

The forehead is low, receding and bulbous. It gives the impression on the whole of being swollen out in front more than in regions of the brows. Owing to the lowness of the hair line the forehead is very narrow, but sometimes up in a vertical position.

As to the nose it is short and squat with nostrils that in the majority of cases are broader from tip to tip than the nose is long. The root of the nose is depressed. The bridge is short, low and gives an impression of strength.

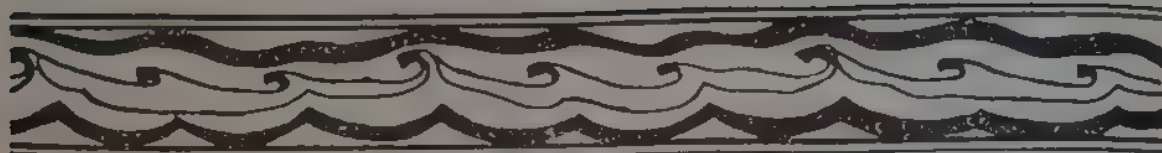
The head hair then in the pure type might be called frizzly or kinky. It stands out in stiff ringlets or coarse curls each ball being made up of spiral rings that are innumerable, close and perfect-like little tufts of black wool.
(1963:11-16)

Garvan also goes on to extol the endurance of people so small and to explain the highly developed nature of the sense of smell, claiming once that if the wind is the right direction they can smell fruit at a great distance and indeed distinguish a particular person by the smell of his clothes even when they cannot see him.

The one curious omission in Garvan's finely detailed work is the absence of any measurements giving the average height of the little people but one can infer from his constant references to their smallness that their height would be comparable with the African pygmy.

CHAPTER FOUR

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY



In recent years many of the Negrito groups have been forced to change their mode of economic activity. In some areas certain groups are already in the transitional phase of changing from hunting and gathering or semi-nomadic swidden agricultural practices to sedentary farming. This is true of the Mamanua of Surigao del Norte, the Dumagat of Nueva Ecija and the Aeta of Zambales. The factors which bring about this change can be narrowed down to three major causes:

1. Exploitation of their traditional environment, especially by logging companies, removes sources of food;
2. Migrant lowland farmers frequently settle on, and lay claims to land which was traditionally the homeland of the Negrito;
3. More and more contact with lowland culture introduces them to a monetary economy which creates new aspirations and thus brings about change usually of a retrogressive nature.

Although these factors are the basis of another chapter, at this point a recent account of the Dumagat's precarious condi-

tion will perhaps highlight the differences between traditional economic modes and the current problems facing many Negrito groups. Ana R. del Rosario describes a current situation thus:

For their major source of livelihood, the Dumagat gather rattan, an Asiatic climbing palm with long stems used especially for wickerwork and other handicraft products. It is an activity which requires a lot of stamina and strength. Rattan gathering is mainly a masculine task although Dumagat women often assist their mates to augment their income.

Every day of the week is rattan-gathering day for the Dumagat. No eight-hour law. No Sunday rest or holidays. The work cycle involves getting rattan palms from the forest, cleaning and scraping them until they are ready to be split into smaller pieces. As soon as one thousand pieces are ready, the Dumagats deliver these to their tabongs (middlemen) in the lowlands in exchange for an average of

40 pesos worth of household goods. These consist of rice, sugar, salt, soap and betel nut. Although the Dumagats have been told the monetary value of their work, they never really know whether they get this in goods. They could also hardly distinguish between the value of a one-peso coin and a five-peso bill.

Needless to say, the Dumagats' earnings are hardly enough to meet their basic requirements. They are forced to incur debts from their *tabongs*. Again the credit is given in kind and can reach as high as 300 pesos. To facilitate payment of the loans, the middlemen pressure the Dumagats to leave their settlements temporarily in order to gather more rattan in other places where it grows in abundance. They are forced to work doubly hard. But the vicious cycle never ends; the Dumagats work harder but become more and more in debt. (1978:3)

A. Hunting

Hunting has always been part of the traditional Negrito economy. Garvan heaps praise on their hunting skills. It must be remembered that Garvan was living and traveling with the Negritos during the first quarter of the present century and his researches perhaps describe a more idyllic era in the history of the 'little people' he found so endearing:

Their knowledge of the forest is, of course, unsurpassed. From earliest boyhood they have made the acquaintance of its every animal and insect, of

its haunts, tracks, sounds and manner of life. They can figure out from the appearance of a footprint, more or less, how recent it is. After a few days in a given locality they generally come to know the day haunts of deer and wild boar. (1963:67)

Vanoverbergh, another of the early Negrito ethnographers, gives further testimony to the hunting skills of the groups with the following account:

Hunting is certainly the chief occupation of the Negritos, and they are really skillful at it. They hunt especially the wild carabao or water buffalo, the wild boar, and the deer, although they do not despise smaller game, as wild cocks, birds and so on.

Their weapons consist exclusively of bow and arrow. I have not seen nor heard of any traps or snares. They never hunt in the dark of night, but always by daylight or moonlight; the latter being preferred when they have no dogs. Nearly every Negrito has one or more dogs, at least nowadays, and he takes great care of them. They ordinarily hunt in groups, the men only taking part, and sometimes pass the whole day in pursuing their prey.

There is no danger of their ever shooting one of their companions, as they are much too experienced in woodcraft not to distinguish the movements of a man from those of an animal. When they take anything they divide the quarry before returning home. (1925:413)

That they have not yet totally lost hunting skills can be inferred from a more recent account of the Mamanua of Mindanao by Maceda:

Many adult males in the settlement still go out to hunt and trap; the women gather food and small animals in the nearby forests and rivers. Hunting and trapping activities are intensified during the rainy season, starting from November to April. Spear traps (bayatik) and pit traps (gahong) are set up in the nearby mountain forests.

Visitation of these traps is made either daily or every two days. Besides the two larger game animals, deer and pig, they also trap others such as the hayo (monitor lizard), lbid (iguana), and large birds, like the three species of hornbills (kayaw, busik, and awid). Special traps for the smaller animals are set up on the ground or in the trees. A smaller version of the bayatik is set up in the trees in order to catch monkeys, whose meat the Mamanua relish. (1975:263)

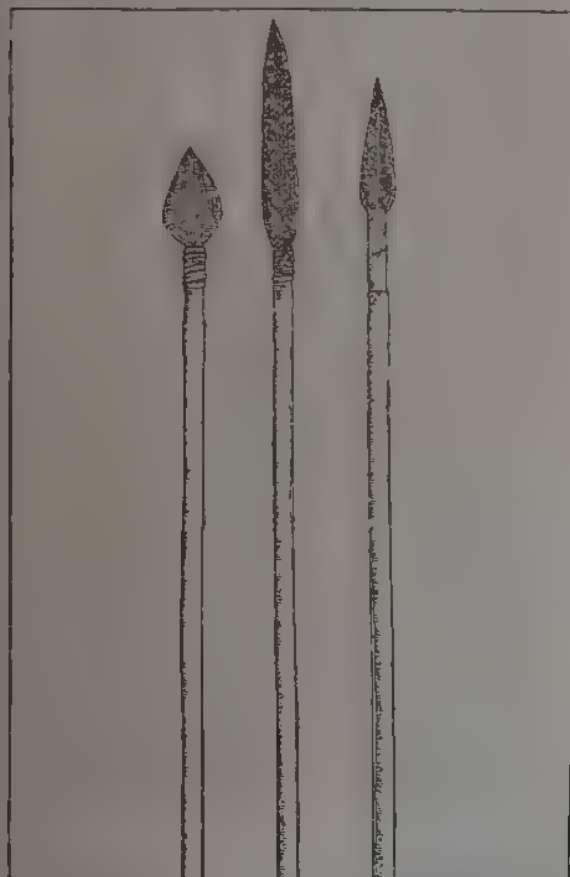
Different hunting patterns are followed, depending upon the season as well as the availability of game. A comprehensive description is given by Estioko and Griffin of the Ebuked Agta of Northeastern Luzon:

Throughout the dry season, men, youths and little boys spear daily. Wild pig and deer are frequently hunted. Hunting with dogs is a favorite technique, since the forest is dry and

noisy, and stalking animals difficult. Pigs and deer are always wary. Monkeys are skinny and of little use, and can detect the hunter as he approaches. Arrows designed for shooting monkeys are seldom carried. Hunters also lie in wait beside trails or sit in trees to shoot at game as it comes to feed on fallen fruits of a nearby tree. The Ebuked Agta do not use nets or traps, preferring instead the bow and a variety of sophisticated arrows designed for specific game and for certain conditions of the forest where game is found. Expectedly, it is among the Agta who hunt frequently that we find a wide variety in types of arrows and the greatest skill in the manufacture.

Another favorite technique is to hunt at night with a flashlight held to the head by a strong rubber band. The beam of light reflects from the eye of pig and deer. As soon as game is spotted, the light is lowered so one's steps can be watched as one creeps near for a shot. When the light is raised once more and directed at the animal, the arrow is released. On one hunting trip, one of us saw his companion shoot three large buck deer within half an hour of walking upstream. Wild pigs are also successfully shot as they feed and water at night. During the dry months, parties of several adult men and boys as young as ten years old travel to distant hunting grounds. They camp for two to six nights, usually killing several

animals, smoke-drying the meat, and also smoking the catch of fish. (1975: 241-242)



Samples of spears used in hunting game such as wild pig and deer

An analysis of the preceding accounts reveals both tribal differences and technological change. Vanoverbergh explicitly states no traps were in evidence while Estioko and Griffin make the same claim for the Ibuked Agta. In his research on the Mamanua, Maceda gives quite detailed accounts of the traps and methods of using them. These differences are per-

haps the result of the evolution of different skills in different hunting environments or the diffusion of the technology of trapping created by contacts with other groups.

A further instance of the diffusion of modern technology is contained in Estioko and Griffin's account of the use of the flashlight while hunting at night. This highlights the adaptive nature of these Negrito hunters in using modern technology. The combination of the traditional bow and arrow, modern flashlight and rubber band is a very appropriate solution to the problem of hunting animals during darkness.

Estioko and Griffin also take pains to differentiate between wet and dry season techniques of hunting:

In the dry season, hunting camps follow the pattern of base camps in placement. The river bed is the location where a crude lean-to is built. Rock overhangs may be used to sleep under. In the rainy season, overnight hunting demands an adequate shelter, so a properly thatched lean-to is built on the dry bank beside the river, generally set back under tree cover. A flooring of bark or boughs is slept on.

Hunting in the rainy season is both easier and more difficult than in the dry season. Crossing rivers is dangerous, and carrying game is hazardous on the slippery terrain. The wild pigs, however, are easily caught because they are fat, slow, lazy and are un-

Sketch by Chupsie Medina / National Museum Artifacts

noyed at the weather themselves. They may not hear the hunter, who usually approaches to between three and four meters before shooting. The large, fat boars cannot charge well; when skinny they are rather aggressive, often killing the dogs. Deer are also fatter, although less desirable than pigs.

Monkeys are fat and are actively sought. Men and boys make trips specifically looking for monkey, and carry arrows with detachable, thorn-lined points designed to lower the high loss rate inherent in monkey shooting. (Ibid: 242)

Their close relationship with, and knowledge of, their environment is exemplified in the hunting techniques. Vanoverbergh noted that:

When a Negrito is on the hunting path, alone and without dogs, he very often goes in search of traces of wild boars that may guide him to some tree, for instance an oak, whose fruits, relished by these animals, are found scattered on the ground. He then climbs a neighbouring tree and patiently waits for the animal to come and take its dinner. If the latter does as expected, there is more than a probability that it will not escape alive. (1929:69)

Stewart also stresses the relationship between Negrito, animals and physical environment with an account which signifies the mental agility and physical prowess of the hunters as they search out and kill wild pigs:

The Negritos had located a number of runs where the pigs came down to water, and watched these runs for days. They then surrounded the area, which was used by the various sows with their half grown litters and started up a din, knowing that most of the pigs would retreat along the runs, as was their custom. The Negritos lay very still on the down side of the narrow run, bracing the butts of their spears against saplings, and lifting the sharp ends up into the pigs as they came along, depending on the pig's own force to drive a spear through him. If this didn't work, the Negrito hunter threw another spear as the pig went by, and then ran down the trail a little, grabbing spears which he had planted in readiness at various points. When he reached an area covered by another hunter, he stopped. The Negrito could run along the little trails they had made for themselves beside the pig-run almost as fast as the pig himself. (1954:62-63)

B. Fishing

Most Negritos are also skilled in a variety of traditional, and some modern, fishing techniques. Headland noted:

Men and women are both skilled in the numerous ways of fishing. The writer has recorded thirty-one separate verbs, each of which refers to a distinct method of fishing. In addition, incidentally, he has obtained the names of twenty-eight species of saltwater

fish. Fishing is an almost daily occupation of everyone, adults and children, and in this they use hooks, nets, traps, poisons and spears. (1975:250)

Rahmann and Maceda also indicate Negrito fishing skills and furthermore illustrate the effect of communal effort in the trapping of fish:

Fishing in which all members of the community participate, is done in streams and rivers, and occasionally in the sea. Small gobbies, shrimps and crabs are caught with bare hands. With the help of the adult members of the family, children sometimes bend the flow of a river branch back to the main channel by building watertight dams. After the water level has receded, fish, crabs and shrimps are scooped up from the river bed with bare hands. If an eel is sighted, which is a rare event, great excitement ensues. The slippery creature seldom escapes the fishermen's skilled hands. (1962:634-635)

Fox, describing the Negritos of Pinatubo, recorded the use of modern techniques such as using a metal rod fired by a rubber band while the fisherman is swimming in the ponds of rivers. He goes on to explain, however, that traditional methods are still useful because:

During the rainy season and the typhoon season, the rivers were periodically muddy and it is difficult to see the fish, shrimps, and eels from under the water. Primarily because of this, other and older fishing techniques have

survived. In addition, the older men and women rarely utilize the new fishing technique, but prefer one or another of the following methods: 1) plant poisons; 2) fish traps, particularly the flood traps; 3) the bow and arrow, the latter with specific types of trident points; 4) hand poles and lines, as well as short, set poles and lines which are baited and placed at night along the banks of the rivers; 5) diverting and drying streams or the edges of the larger rivers, by one or a series of dams; 6) gathering small fish, shrimps, and eels found hiding under and around the rocks and grasses along the edges of the rivers by hand. The latter technique is specifically the activity of small boys, girls and women. (1953:282)

More insidious and destructive practices have crept into Negrito fishing, one of which is highly dubious since it kills young fish and breeding stock alike. It is the use of an explosive which Rahmann and Maceda claim to be prevalent amongst the Ata:

A bottle is filled with lime and closed with a wooden stopper through which a small hole has been bored. The bottle explodes when thrown into the water killing the fishes near the site of the explosion. (1955:824)

C. Gathering

Unlike many other hunters and gatherers elsewhere, the Negritos do not have a

distinct division of labour into male hunters and female gatherers. Maceda noted that:

Women gather small animals (fruit bats, frogs, tadpoles, crabs, snails, grubs, etc.) and edible plants from the nearby forests, rivers and streams. However, the gathering of wild fruits (fruit of rattan called kalapl, wild tambis and makopa, panaon, etc.) ubod (heart of the bud of the palm trees), and other forest products is the task of men. (1975:263)

Vanoverbergh also noted that although certain gathering activities were the domain of women, others demanded the efforts of the entire group:

Most of the Negrito women I met in the district of Casiguran were very skillful in catching crabs, and they were real experts in locating bird's eggs especially the very large eggs of a comparatively small bird that buries its eggs deep in the sand of a beach.

At the time of my visit to the Negritos of Dimpan I saw men, women and children roam around the beach, at low tide, to collect squids. (1937:927)

The Negrito highly prizes the bee which provides them with the highly sought-after honey, as well as being food in its own right. Fox claimed:

The great delicacy of the Palawan is honey, pulot; moreover the

talo, wax, is useful in many ways, and the young bees, the umok, as well as the pollen found in the hives, the lata, are edible. The young bees are placed in a green banana leaf and roasted in the fire. The lata is eaten raw. (1953:290)

Estioko and Griffin also observed the value of honey to the Negrito groups:

Honey is in season in June, July, and August, and is always collected during hunting trips. Hunters gorge themselves on combs full of larvae and liquid honey, then fill fresh bladders with the surplus. A successful trip often ends with the women and children receiving several bladders of honey. Special honey collection trips are made to beehives observed on earlier expeditions. Hives may hang from tree limbs or be inside hollow trunks. The latter are always subjects of special trips since axes are needed to chop into the cavity. As late as October a bitter-sweet comb may be collected to supplement the hunter's diet. (1975: 242)

The provision of food is almost a full-time occupation with the Negrito people. A trip into the forest will almost always involve activities of hunting as well as that of being on the lookout for food that can be gathered. Vanoverbergh, in his journey with the Negritos, observed that:



Dumaqi fisherman jubilant over his catch. Note the bow and arrow used.

(Photo by ASI COMMUNICATIONS)



Above: Dumagats bearing products such as fruits, tubers, honey and almaciga to be sold to lowlanders during a market day.

Right: Dumagat splitting scraped rattan into smaller pieces also to be sold to lowlanders.

(Photos by ASI COMMUNICATIONS)



While travelling, whether in the dense forest or in the half-settled areas interspersed with woody thickets, the Negrito is always on the lookout either for animals, as wild boars, iguanas, bees, and/or for fruits. The latter are generally obtained by climbing the trees on which they grow; but, when this is impossible or very difficult, our Pygmies rest down a pole of bamboo or a slender branch of a tree, which happens to be provided with some hooklike appendage, and use them to put-off the coveted fruits or to lower the stem or branch on which they are growing. (1925:66)

The Mamanua of Mindanao also collect forest produce for lowland people. Maceda highlights this interrelationship by pointing out that:

*Since they live in an area where there are still forests, although not as close as they used to be, the Mamanua also accept orders to gather forest products for a customer. The more common ordered forest products are split **pu-gahan** (*Caryota cumingii* Linii) and **anibong** (*Oncosperma horida* Linii) for flooring, **diliman** (a kind of fern) for tying, and wild piscicides. The latter two are sold to coast-dwelling fishermen. On order they will also gather medicinal plants, vines, bark and roots, especially those used in post-partum treatment of mothers. (1975: 263-264)*

D. Agricultural Practices

The use of agricultural techniques as a source of food production draws conflicting claims from observers of the culture. That they have always had some crude knowledge of agriculture is generally accepted by most, but the extent to which it is practiced is the subject of debate. Since the early observers laid little stress on the Negrito as agriculturist, it is possible that in some cases the systematic use of agriculture in food production is the result of pressure on land and the fairly widespread disappearance of game which was formerly the principal source of food.

Garvan, the earliest of Negrito ethnographers, makes virtually no mention of anything that could be claimed to be an agricultural technique. Vanoverbergh, a few years later, discusses the topic but in terms of small gardens rather than the kaingin (swidden) mentioned by later observers. Vanoverbergh suggested:

Agriculture is not practiced at all by the wild Negritos. The others usually have a small plot of ground near their hut, where they cultivate in a very unskillful way Indian corn, beans, bananas and occasionally a few other plants.

Some of them are not loath to assist the Iloko settlers when they are working their rice fields, but they very often complain of the hard work and of the scanty remuneration. A few Iloko once told me that the Negrito could hardly stand the heat of the sun for a considerable period of time; when

harvesting rice, he would repeatedly leave the field in order to rest in the shade. After all this is not to be wondered at, as our Pygmies are accustomed to live in the forests where the rays of the sun rarely penetrate. This also may be one of the reasons why the Negritos are averse to practice agriculture on a large scale. (1963:69)

Headland, writing much later, does admit the existence of *kaingin* (swidden) but does argue that it is probably a practice which has been introduced to the culture:

Dumagats do make swiddens; however, it does not appear that swidden agriculture is an indigenous practice. Most Dumagat families make swiddens, but few do it every year. Further, it has been noted that, unless a Dumagat is working in cooperation with a Malay Filipino, his efforts in making swiddens are only half-hearted and his work is inferior. The result is often a poor crop. (1975:249)

Rahmann and Maceda make considerable claims for agriculture amongst the Ati of the Visayas:

The majority of the settlements visited are practically permanent, and farming is the source of livelihood. The Ati have to choose for cultivation the sides, and eventually the flat tops of mountains and hills, and the small river valleys between them.

The type of farming practiced by the Ati is shifting cultivation, known as kaingin all over the Philippines. The

plots which the Ati now prepare for cultivation are all parts of cogon-grass land and second-growth forests. In case a part of the latter is chosen for cultivation, the cutting of the underbrush is done towards the end of the dry season and about a month later the cuttings are set on fire. Those parts of the wood that have not been sufficiently burnt are piled up and kindled a second time. Sometimes wood is simply stacked against a rock or boulder, or a tall stump. When it is dry, it may be taken home for firewood. Corn is the most important of all crops. However, the Ati also plant dry and wet rice, sweet potatoes, cassava, bananas, beans, coconuts, abaca, etc. In planting corn, and dry rice, the men with the digging stick drill holes into the ground and the women then drop a few seeds into them. The distance between the holes is smaller on rice plots, camote and cassava are sometimes grown together with corn or rice. (1962:632-633)

From the above accounts we can reasonably assume that the traditional economy was one of hunting and gathering with, in some areas, the existence of a small garden where a few vegetables were grown.

Only Rahmann and Maceda's account of the Ati presents any degree of systematic food production and that also is probably an innovation of the not-too-distant past.

The clue to the change from hunting and gathering is the one mentioned earlier of

the introduction of the monetary economy. Cadeliña provides evidence of this factor when stating:

Up to now the economy of the Negritos has retained its essential character as a subsistence economy, although they have begun to plant corn as a cash crop. This is usually planted together with camote, a staple food on which they live from October until late summer. The most common way of preparing the fields for planting is a simple weeding by the use of the guna or bunlay, tools resembling a garden trowel. The second growth of trees or shrubs on the clearing are cut down with the bolo and, after they have died enough, burned on the spot. Only a few Negrito farmers have progressed to the use of the plow. The majority cannot afford a carabao and plow, even if the size and surface configuration of their farmland would allow their use. The making of new clearings (kaingin) is now a rare occurrence, because most forest land has been cleared and the only major forest areas left are in the most distant portion of the Negrito forest reserve.

If the farm is close to a forested area, its outer margin is always planted to cash crops like camote which sends only roots above ground, thus leaving an open space which will make it harder for the monkeys to invade the corn and rice fields. The latter are, as a consequence, usually found in the cen-

ter of the farm land. Of vegetables, the Negritos usually plant only alugbate (basilla rupra) and eggplant. They do not see any need to plant many kinds of vegetables because all kinds of wild vegetable grow in abundance during the rainy season. Furthermore, the leaves of a tree, called bago, serve as a vegetable during the dry summer months. Even the lowland Christians like to buy bago leaves from the Negritos. (1974:54-55)

Cadeliña seems to have pinpointed accurately the two principal factors in the change, namely the need for a cash crop and the fact that large areas of forest have already been cleared. As the Negrito becomes more and more involved in the monetary economy we can expect more and more dependence on agriculture in the economy of these groups. Indeed the Mamanua of Surigao have virtually become sedentary rice agriculturists in the past three years.

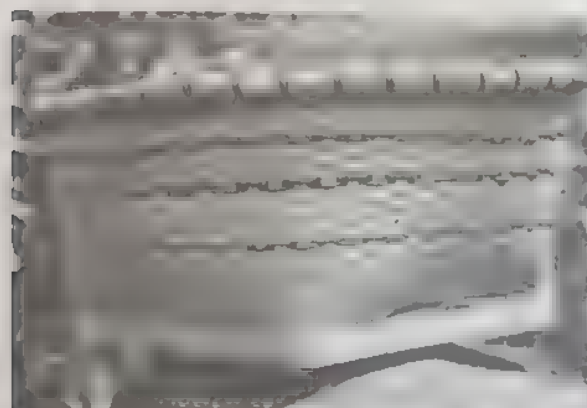
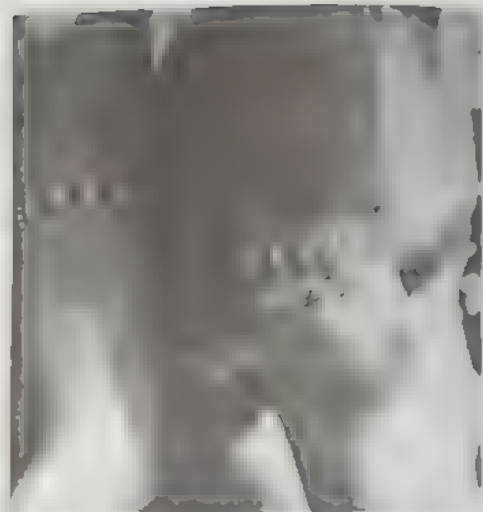
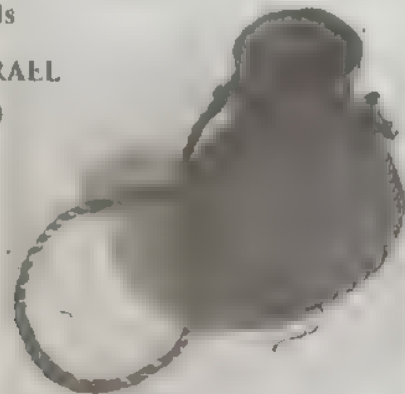
E. Handicrafts and Manufacturing

As one would expect in an environment which is abundant in rattan and abaca, the Negritos are skillful craftsmen in weaving and plaiting. Numerous observations have been made of these skills. Maceda, of the Mamanua, observed:

The Mamanua are skilled in weaving and plaiting. Among the things they produce are nego (remmoring baskets), duyan (rattan hammocks), and

Woven baskets (Photos by PBSPDEVCOM
UNIT/NATIONAL MUSEUM ARTIFACTS)
and armbands

(Photo by ISRAEL
CABANILLA)



baskets, which they sell in the local markets during marketing days. Interested buyers may order these articles from individual craftsmen. When there are many orders, the night before market day the craftsmen may gather as a group around a big fire to work far into the night, if necessary until early morning, so that the ordered articles may be finished. (1975: 263)

The production of handicrafts and manufactured goods follows two main patterns; those which are used by the group themselves for day to day economic activities and for ornamental or aesthetic purposes and those which are used for barter with outsiders. The Ati weave abaca cloth in the making of fishing nets while amongst the Negritos of Northern Luzon, Vanoerbergh noted a wide variety of uses to which various artifacts were put:

The weaving of baskets, winnows, mats and hammocks is intensively practiced by the Negritos of Allakapan, mostly for bartering purposes. Armlets and small bags are manufactured by them for their own personal use. The weaving is typically Negrito, different from that of the Iloko, the Kagayan and the Isneg. Negrito baskets are always double, while those of the others are single, never double. Negritos always use an old basket as a mold over which they weave the new one; this is never done by the others. The Negrito weaving is either twilled, strip two by two at the bottom, one

by one at the sides, or checker close, strips of the warp two by two, of the weft one by one, at the sides; open-worked, strips two by two, at the bottom. Winnows and mats are woven exclusively by women. Armlets are manufactured exclusively by men. More showy armlets, flat and about 1/2 inch broad with a diameter of about 2 1/2 inches, are worn by boys in order to please the girls. The Negritos also manufacture raincoats like those of the Malays. These raincoats are made of palm leaves, generally of the labid, whose bases surround the neck of the wearer, and whose tops spread like a fan all around the body except in front, at the height of the waist line. (1929:70-72)

Metalwork is not unknown to the Negritos and in a description by Fox, one is also made aware that the specialist production of such goods may give status but does not confer any specific rank on the craftsman since at other times he is just another member of the group:

The smith's profession is the most skilled trade found among the Pinatubo pygmies and carries with it considerable social status. The actual metal working is a man's job although women and children may pump the pistons. The smiths do not work systematically, but only when there is freedom from other activities, leisure time because of the rains, or a specific demand for the products. Moreover, the smith is not a specialist, that is,

conferring his labor solely to the forge, but carries on the usual daily activities of men in his group. (1953:354-355)

F. External Economic Relations

Most Negrito groups have long been in contact with Filipinos living close to their semi-nomadic settlements. These contacts have espoused economic relations between the Negrito and their close neighbours but the nature of these economic ties varies between downright exploitation and genuine friendship. Bennagen stresses the latter tie in this account:

The forests yield game, fruits, tubers, honey, almaciga, resin and timber for house posts. The last two are also sold to Christians. Fish and meat are sometimes shared with Christian friends, who in turn and at various times, give the Agta corn, rice, tobacco or other goods. Parties to this mutually beneficial alliance are called alibay. (1960:6)

Arbues, although principally stressing the hunting and gathering nature of the Negrito economy, also refers to ties of friendship between Negrito and lowland neighbour:

The general occupational emphasis seems to be on hunting, fishing and gathering sikay (a root) or almost anything that is edible, rather than cultivation. They can easily maintain themselves by this means; so it has become customary to

exchange the surplus food for cultivation tools and clothing with their friends among the Tagalogs or other such groups. (1960:40)

The Ati of the Visayas do considerable bartering and selling to lowland Visayan neighbours and in some instances display skills that the lowlanders do not possess. In an observation by Rahmann and Maceda the degree of exchange, and skill possessed, is abundantly clear:

They also earn money by selling articles which they themselves make. One of the Ati is a yoke-maker by profession. His finished product is in great demand among the Christian farmers, who, for their part, have no experience in yoke-making and in choosing durable materials; or who have perhaps no time to make such an article for their own use. The Ati also weave small receptacles which they sell. The domesticated animals the Ati keep are another source of income. The beeswax is also bartered for some products that the Visayans offer in exchange. The gathering and selling of medicinal plants and roots plays a rather important role in Ati economy. (1969:869)

The problems in the external economic relations of the Negritos begin to appear as the situation assumes more and more of a market structure. In this situation the Negrito is at a distinct loss since his knowledge of the value of the lowland goods is often scanty. Rice and Tima give

some support to del Rosario's account at the beginning of this chapter with this illustration:

A regular weekly market is conducted under the trees at San Luis (Entablado). This has been conducted regularly since before the Japanese occupation. Merchants from lowland communities provide transportation for importing the various necessities such as nails, files, rice, dresses, pants, shirts, blue cloth for clouts, footgear and bago-ong. These are exchanged for bananas, wild vegetables and fruits and root crops, especially camote. The market is reportedly conducted on an exchange basis rather than cash. Although it is likely that the Negritos would get better prices for their commodities if they were able to get them to outside markets, the cost of transportation and the difficulty of arranging it seems to preclude the likelihood of its accomplishment at the present time.

The merchants are also encouraging credit purchases by the Negritos payable in rice or camote at harvest time with interest. In this way some Negritos have gotten hopelessly into debt. (1973:28)

Cadeliña is more optimistic about the future of the Negrito in the market economy:

The recently opened tabu-an (barrio market) attracts both lowland Christian and Negrito traders and consumers. The exchange of goods offers also an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and information. Both should in the long run help to promote a realization that both groups have something to contribute towards a fruitful co-existence in the community. It is only through such recognition of each other's value that equal treatment for all may develop.

Exposure of the Negritos to some products offered by the lowland Christian may also acquaint them with modern technology and thus open up better ways of utilizing whatever raw materials the Negritos' environment provides for the production of marketable finished goods. (1974:57)

The above author's optimism is one that many other observers would not share. The potential problem confronting these Negrito groups is that as they are pulled more and more into the market economy their low level of literacy and lack of knowledge of the value of their produce will create more exploitation rather than the equal treatment Cadeliña hopes will emerge.

CHAPTER FIVE

FOOD DRINK AND THEIR PREPARATION



A. Types of Food

In consonance with an environment which can be seasonally harsh and also with their almost total knowledge of that environment, Negritos will eat anything that is edible, Vanoverbergh gave testimony to that knowledge when he claimed:

They do not disdain rice, vegetables and fruits raised in the garden, but their staple food must necessarily be meat, fish, honey and wild roots and fruits. In the animal kingdom, they have wild water buffaloes, deer, wild boars, wild cocks, and several birds, okong eggs, young bees, honey, all kinds of fishes, crabs and crayfish; in the vegetable kingdom, they have enumerable wild roots and fruits and I do not believe there is anything edible in the forest entirely unknown to them.

Milk, sugar and oil are practically unknown to them. Salt is not much used, although they are very fond of it, and go far to find even a small quantity.

Pepper, chile pepper, ginger are used wherever available and the Negrito is very fond of them. (1925:407-408)

Fox, the ethnographer of the Pinatubo Negritos, puts the group's dietary habits into an historical context:

Undoubtedly, the tubers of the various wild yams (at least nine wild species and varieties) were one of the most important sources of food for the Pinatubo pygmies, and for other food gathering groups during the prehistoric period.

It is seen that approximately 70% of the Pinatubo Pygmies' present food is derived from plant introduced during the Historic Period from the New

World, and that about 53% of their present annual subsistence is obtained from a single plant, the American sweet potato. For weeks, meal after meal, their only food is the boiled sweet potato, and perhaps an ulam, that is meat or other food served with the main starchy dish. When the corn is being harvested, the pygmies eat day after day only the boiled or roasted ears. At present, the pygmies have no real taste for cultivated vegetables, nor do they seek a varied diet.

During specific months, the Pinatubo pygmies add to their diet a number of adult insects, as well as their larva and pupa, at the time of the year when these can be gathered in sufficient quantities to be of food value. The larva and pupa are boiled in the bamboo cooking tubes, and the adult insects are roasted or boiled. (1953:235, 246, 248, 301)

Geographical variations seem to exist in the availability of food; in some areas there appears to be sufficient for the needs of the group while in others malnutrition exists due to insufficiency. In Zambales, Western Luzon, Rice and Tima assert:

It is observed that the staple food of the Negrito is camote and that the Negritos are self-sufficient in the crop and have adequate supplies to sell outside of the reservation. The people have begun to eat rice also, especially in Balivet, but they must purchase it outside since they do not have enough

local production for their own needs. The Negritos appear to be basically self-sufficient in protein resources, most of it being freshwater fish supplemented by chickens and pigs which they raise. (1973:26-27)

Headland, in a later account of the Dumagat of Eastern Luzon, suggested that although they eat three times per day with a protein viand source, it is not enough to prevent illness of a serious nature:

This viand is not enough, however, to prevent the chronic malnutrition prevalent among them; for those living along the beaches, this protein is provided by fish, shellfish, and octopus, in addition to deer and wild pig and monkey. Those living inland have deer, wild pig and monkey, plus such fresh water life as shrimp, fresh water fish, and snails. (1975:249)

The Negritos of Panay in the Visayas also experience seasonal insufficiency but, according to Rahmann and Maceda, display the arts of survival in a highly appropriate and obviously well-developed evolutionary technique:

When the food supply is insufficient, the Ati will resort to gathering a poisonous root, called banayong, which is found in the second-growth forests. The roots are gathered, peeled and thinly sliced. Boiling water is then poured over separate heaps of the slices until they are considered free from the poisonous principle; then the whole lot is washed in running water, never in

a stagnant pool. The cured root is dried, and when the need for a meal comes, a small quantity is taken. This is cooked either in water or in coconut milk with salt added according to individual tastes. (1962:867)

Contact with Filipinos has changed dietary habits amongst the Negritos. Vanoverbergh, over forty years ago, observed the change to rice as a staple but also commented on indigenous methods:

Nowadays rice is the staple food among the Negritos as well as among the other tribes that inhabit the island of Luzon. Nevertheless very few of them raise rice, and even when they do, they never raise it in sufficient quantities, nor do they have granaries for storing agricultural products, therefore they largely depend on the Malays for their daily bread.

The few products that are raised by them, provided they have any fields and cling to them up till harvest time, are consumed gradually according to their needs; for the rest they depend on hunting and fishing, especially on the latter.

One food product which I saw in use at Kataguman (Cas.) and which seems to be unknown to all Malays who live outside of Negrito influence, is the *agel*; it consists in a kind of rose-colored meal obtained from the fruit of the jaggery palm (*Caryota* sp.). The meal is mixed with water and cooked in a pan or in some other re-

ceptacle without any addition; in this way a kind of sticky cake is obtained whose taste differs very little from a similar kind of cake, made by the Malays, with flour obtained by pounding rice to powder. (1937:922-933)

At a much later date Headland also cites the use of rice amongst the Dumagat but like Vanoverbergh noted the exotic *agel* which at the present time appears only to be served as a tradition of the past:

The staple food of the Dumagat today is rice and, to a lesser extent, cultivation of wild tubers. They occasionally process and eat a starch extracted from the soft inner pulp of the *caryota* palm (*Caryota cumingii*), called *agel*. It is seldom eaten today, but they do serve it at weddings, as a tradition, and they eat it when no other food is available. They have a rich vocabulary of nouns and verbs having to do with the palm, however, and it plays a prominent part in their folklore. This indicates that the *caryota* palm was evidently an important part of the Dumagat diet in the past. (1975:249)

B. Preparation of Food

The earliest comprehensive account of food preparation amongst the Negritos is given by Garvan. As Rahmann and Mueda were to notice at a later date, Garvan observed the poisonous nature of some of the root crops and gives details of how they were treated to render them safe:

The most important part of our little people's menu consists of tubers but as nearly all of these contain a certain amount of poison, they must be subjected to grating, washing and heating either by sunning or heating over a fire. The grating is performed with pieces of prickly rattan which have strong recurring thorns and which abound all over the forest. Once the tuber has been reduced to a pulpy mass, it is washed in a stream, the pulpy mass being passed between the hands and squeezed out several times. Work like this falls to the womenfolk. During this process they smell the pulpy mass and seem to be able to tell by the odor if it has received sufficient washing. In the case of certain varieties of mature tubers, it may be necessary to soak the whole mass for several hours, or even for several days.

If the latter method has been adopted, the removal of the 'bad smell' is accomplished very quickly. When the women are satisfied that the mass is in proper condition, it is squeezed as dry as possible and spread out thin in the sun on pieces of bark, or, such a height as to ensure slow desiccation.

When thoroughly dry it receives another 'smelling' and may have to go through another washing. One variety of tuber is very obstinate and requires soaking overnight with ashes or at least with water that has been filtered through ashes. The cooking of the grated mass is simpler. It is

put without water into an earthen pot or into an iron jar, or into green bamboo joints till cooked. In this case, too, the smell seems to be the best guide as to the cookment. (1963:55-56)

Garvan's account of the tuber preparation fully illustrates the lengths the Negritos will go to in preparing food. Every observation of the eating habits of these people suggests the important emphasis placed on cooking food. Of the Mamanua of Surigao, Maceda states:

As a rule, none of the Negritos eat anything raw. When there are no cooking utensils, the Mamanua broil camote (sweet potato) and meat directly on the fire. Sometimes, when they have time, they put the meat on a bamboo or wooden skewer and roast it over a slow fire; they may also make a small platform of green bamboo or wood and cook the meat on it.

Another method of cooking used by all these Negrito groups is that of letting the food stew in its own juice.

For instance, they obtain a certain amount of the food to be cooked and soak it in water. Later the moistened food is placed in a bamboo internode and laid directly on the fire until cooked. The Mamanua vary the method by using leaves instead of bamboo. The food is wrapped in several layers of leaves, one over the other; the ends are tied together and the bundle is laid directly on the fire until

the food is cooked. The third way of cooking is by boiling. A Mamanua uses this method when he has pots. (1975:54-55)

Vanoverbergh also documented the distinction between the use of direct heat and that of utensils. His account, however, implies that the Negritos themselves did not make utensils but, rather, they were introduced to the group by outsiders:

The meat is roasted over the fire, after it has been cut into small shreds and strung on a piece of wood, rattan or bamboo; fish is also roasted over the fire, and so again with yams, corn on cob and the rest. Honey and the young bees are eaten without any preparation, although sometimes they may roast the young insects; this is a dish especially reserved for children, but adults do not disdain it either. Most fruits are eaten raw.

In the district of Casiguran, Negritos generally cook their food in an iron kettle bought from outsiders. Elsewhere the usual utensils are of earthenware, obtained in the same way. To cut meat, they either use a knife, or more commonly, one of the sharp edges of an iron arrowhead. Most of the time our Pygmies partake of food twice a day, provided of course they have anything to eat; when they have food in abundance, they occasionally take a third meal. They can be seen eating at almost any hour of the day. Men, women and children eat together, which does not

mean that they sit in a circle around the heap of cooked food; no, they eat in any place, outside, or mostly, inside the house. They scatter all over the floor in a sitting or a squatting posture and face in all directions, whether alone and by themselves, or in company of one or more, and eating from a common dish, usually a section of a green banana leaf. (1937:923)

Like all societies the Negritos occasionally celebrated certain events with gargantuan feasts comprising delicacies only appreciated by the indigenous palate. Stewart describes a Negrito burial feast in Zambales:

After the mule, the deer, the wild pigs, porcupines, and the bamboo rats had been placed on the fire, and the other food had been arranged, the men settled down to drink and exchange their never-ending stories. All are brimming over with cordiality and good will. When the animals are roasted, some of their parts would be burned and some would be raw, but the Negritos would not mind. The carcasses were cooked whole because meat was now so scarce in the territory that the natives seldom got all they wanted. They had none of the white man's prejudice against the insides of an animal, and they liked the flavor of the digestive juices. The bittersweet of bile-impregnated liver, combined with honey comb, the sour taste of the hydrochloric acid

from the stomach, and the limbwiger-like flavor from the intestines were all welcome to the Negrito gourmets. After a Negrito feast, nothing was left but bones, and even these were racked open for the marrow. (1954: 82-83)

C. Scheduling of Meals

Although Headland mentioned the custom of eating three times a day, the availability of food must necessarily play some part in determining eating patterns. In a series of observations, Garvan noted the functional approach to the timing of meals and the gregarious nature of the Negrito at mealtimes:

While as a normal thing, our little forest folk eat daily only two regular meals, yet between meals they take snacks of everything that comes along. If a young fellow comes into the camp with great clusters of rattan fruit, everybody sings out for a portion.

The time for the morning meal depends on the time at which it is intended to leave camp. On hunting days the hunters must be up and out early so that a very early breakfast is the rule, not later than sunrise, for it is in the early hours of the day that both wild boar and deer are most active in their movements. On other days breakfast is not eaten till the sun has been up an hour or two. The morning meal is the lighter meal of the day. It consists of wild tubers together with whatever had been left of the previous

day's hunt. I very seldom saw any occasion on which our little people did not have the foresight to leave enough meat for next day's breakfast.

Later on, it may be at four, five or six o'clock, the huntsmen return, the game quartered, divided and cooked and all partake of their one great big meal — it may be at seven or eight o'clock at night. (1963:60)

Garvan also provides an account of the way in which the food is taken and the social etiquette involved in the serving:

The method of eating is similar to that of the poor Filipino peasants. The fingers of the right hand serve for cutlery. Before beginning to eat our Pygmy takes a container of water and pours it slowly over his right hand, while at the same time the thumb of that hand keeps rubbing the other fingers clean. The operation is then performed on the left hand and water is taken into the mouth.

Being now ready for the fray, our little man sits down in his family group and sets to. The wife dishes out the cooked tubers into whatever receptacles the family may possess, or, as very frequently obtains, on leaves that have been placed on the ground for that purpose . . . As by far the greater part of the meat portion of the meal consists, as a more general rule, of big broiled chunks, it falls to the father or the other male head of the group to do the carving.

Meals are a time of great animation in the encampment. All the families contrive to eat, each by its own hut, at the same time. Floods of merry conversation flow from group to group and inquiries irradiate around: "Have you enough meat?" "Have some more soup. We have too much." "Give me a little of your palm-core," and so forth — and thus the meal goes on, a round of mutual offers and of kindly reciprocation. (Ibid: 61-62)

D. Liquid Sustenance

Water is the main liquid intake of the Negritos although intoxicants have been introduced by the lowland Filipinos. Vanoverbergh accounts for the use of both liquids with the intoxicant used in the performance of ritual:

The only drink he has is water, which is preserved in joints of bamboo and drank from them, except when he possesses an earthen jar bought from his neighbors, and in such a case a piece of coconut shell is used as a drinking cup.

The Negritos use the water of rivers and brooks for drinking purposes, carrying it in long hollow bamboo tubes, prepared for the purpose.

Although drunkenness is not common, the Negritos of Atakapan occasionally indulge in drinking either nipu wine or basl (obtained from sugar cane) which they buy or receive

from the Christians. This happens, especially during ceremonies, and as the Negrito is not accustomed to intoxicants, he gets drunk very easily, and a drinking bout at the end of a gathering is no more a rare occurrence, at least with some groups. (1925:409, 1929:60, 1937:924)

Streams and rivers are not the only source of water. The Negritos' knowledge of the environment was again observed by Fox with this account of their subtlety in obtaining drinking and cooking water:

In the Yamot area, the villages obtain their entire water supply from trees and vines, particularly the wild fig. A cut is made in the trunk of this tree, and a long bamboo tube, the lubob is propped against the tree with the lip of the tube just below the cut. A large leaf is placed above the cut and the mouth of the tube to keep out foreign matter. A few trees prepared in this manner will give sufficient water for an entire village, that is, for cooking and drinking, for a Negrito will rarely take a bath. (1953:189)

That the Negritos have developed a strong liking for alcohol is both undesirable and unfortunate. This predilection lays them open to exploitation by the *tabangas* who will supply it in their dealings with Negritos. In Eastern Luzon the desire to obtain alcohol was received with some disfavor by Vanoverbergh



Above, left: Mamanua cooking with vessel suspended over fire wood. (Photo by REYLAZO)
 Above, right: Negrito of San Pedro, Iriga, Camarines Sur, cooking with vessel balanced on three big stones. (Photo by PBSP DEVCOM UNIT)

from the inflorescence of the coco palm), without the knowledge of his wife. Beginning from that day, I made it a rule not to give food products to the men, but only to the women, and the latter seemed to be highly pleased with it: they often complained about the drinking bouts in-

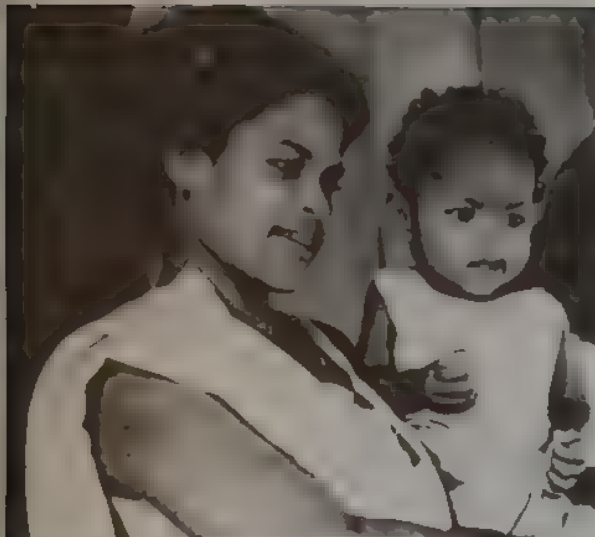
dulged in by their husbands. Nevertheless, a few women were seen occasionally to join the men in drinking tuba, and one old crony went so far as to plainly state that she did not want tobacco or rice in exchange for her products, but money in order to be able to buy tuba. (1937/38:924)



**Above: Mamanua family in front of their
home (Photo by REYLAZO)**

**Right: Agta family from Minanga, Penablanca
(Photo by ISRAEL CABANILLA)**



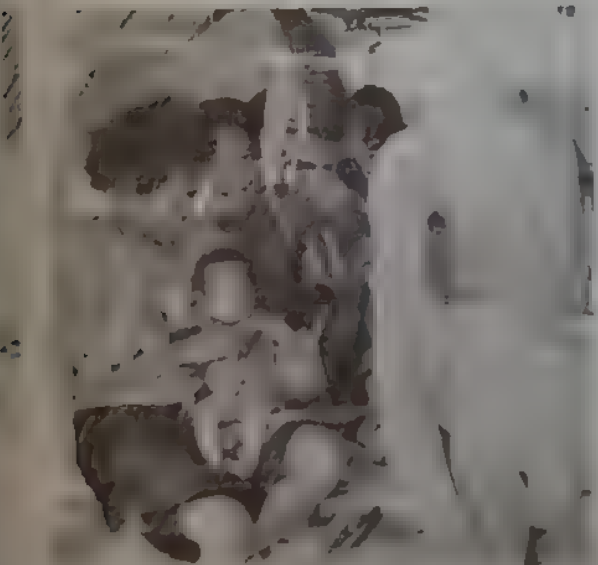


Left and below: Mothers of San Pedro, Iriga, Camarines Sur cuddle their young while participating in a community activity.

Left, middle: Negrito families are closely knit and members often accompany one another as shown in this picture.

Left, below: a Negrito family in Kakilingan, San Marcelino, Zambales

(Photos by PBSP DEVCOM UNIT)





Father kissing child in San Pedro



Two young women in Kalingan San
Marcelino, assist in
the daily chore of fetching
water

CHAPTER SIX

KINSHIP, FAMILY AND MARRIAGE



A. Kinship

Like relatively isolated and preliterate groups anywhere else, Negritos place a high premium on kinship and the social mores which emanate from it. The rules regarding affinal relationships, the incest taboo and consequently marital sanctions would be meaningless without the guidelines that kinship evokes. The emphasis placed on consanguinity was first recorded by Garvan:

Though I found a wonderful spirit of democracy — of real fraternity, equality and liberty — prevailing in the general social dealings of our little Pygmies, yet, on the other hand, I found that nearness in blood, in affinity, is everywhere the ruling consideration in life. (1963:135)

As Cadeliña noted later, descent is traced both matrilineally and patrilineally and extends beyond the immediate progenitors:

The Negrito trace descent through both father and mother. It includes both paternal and maternal uncles and aunts, as well as cousins on either side, their children and grandchildren. Marriage within this range falls under the taboo of incest; any other lateral relatives beyond this range may be chosen as partners in marriage. (1968:52).

Bennagen confirms the horizontally extended line of kinship reference when stating:

Uncles and aunts are referred to as fathers and mothers. Cousins are

referred to as brothers and sisters "because after all we come from the same pocket". The pocket is an allusion to the grandparents. All this indicates, among other things, the closeness with which members of a kinship group regard each other. (1969:5)

B. The Family Unit

Rice and Tima (1973) claim that the nuclear family is the basic unit of Negrito society and Bennagen, in an earlier observation, suggested likewise but with care taken of widows and widowers:

In fact a married couple and their unmarried children occupy one lean-to (dwelling). Widows and widowers may stay with one of the children or sometimes he/she had her own lean-to near to that of one of the children. (Ibid:5)

The peaceful and loving nature of the Negrito people is a very visible feature of familial relationships. Garvan, who lived with the Negritos for many years, explains the pattern of internal family relationships thus:

Conjugal, relations are on the whole very happy. Both consorts show tender affection for each other, which affection attains its acme after the birth of the first-born. Neither spouse dominates the other though I met in my travels only a few henpecked husbands, who incidentally, were the jest of their groups. The wife accompa-

nies her husband everywhere. If either has a burden to bear, as when acting as carrier, the other shares it every so often, except that the mother prefers to bear the youngest child on her person. The wives of my Negrito carriers used to prepare betel quids for their husbands during our halts and when the wives acted as relief for their husbands, the latter showed the same thoughtfulness. And so it is in all the little doings of life—a constant interchange of reciprocal good will and affection. The married couple sleep side by side with the youngest children near them. I ascertained from answers to my inquiries that they caress and fondle each other as married people the world over except that the manner of kissing is like that of all Philippine peoples, to wit by placing the nose on the other person, inhaling at the same time, much like a person taking snuff. (1963:83)

Vanoverbergh also reported the close-knit ties between husband and wife:

Relations between husband and wife seem to be very cordial, and both to be entirely on the same footing. A Negrito is rarely seen without his wife being around somewhere, except, of course, when he is on a hunting expedition; all other occupations were shared or at least attended by the women. While women are looking for crabs, their husbands are often fishing in the same neighborhood. (1938: 139)

There is a strong emotional attachment between the temporal affect in between not only parents and offspring but also parents and older people and young members of the group.

I stated before that the parents loved their offspring most dearly. I should add that vice-versa, the children also respect their elders, not only their father and mother, but their grandparents, uncles and aunts and other relatives as well. Whoever may be related to them and more advanced in years is considered worthy of love and veneration. I have noticed that Negrito children, in general, are very obedient. Old men and women are well taken care of by the members of their family. (1962:638)

Furthermore the way in which children are treasured by all Negritos is to be found in the work of Cadeliña:

Childless families like to adopt children of relatives, but only completely orphaned children are available for adoption. Widows as well as widowers do not want to part with their children. They are apt to say: "I cannot bring myself to give away my child to anybody, even to relatives. After all he is my child." This shows a very strong attachment between parent and child. It is quite in keeping with this that among Negritos the marriage bond is considered a lasting union of man and woman. (1968:51)

C. Marital Stability

The marital norm tends towards monogamy although Fox (1953) argues that among the Pinatubo Negritos, polygamy is permissible if the man can provide the *bandi* (bride-price). Both Arbues (1960) and Rahmann and Maceda (1958) suggest the absence of polygamy may be due to the harshness of the Negrito's economic situation i.e. few men could support more than one wife.

Garvan also claims the widespread existence of monogamy and at the same time dismisses the widespread folklore about Negrito promiscuity:

Monogamy is almost universal. Polygamy is recognized in some groups but it is practiced by only a very small percentage. Fornication is still more infrequent and I know of only one case of rape. Bestial acts that we hear of in other parts of the world are unknown. A good evidence for the existence of a thing among a people is a name for it. No Negrito that I know of have names for sexual perversions. (1963:8)

The principle of monogamy is exemplified in the marital relations of the Negrito couple. The loyalty and faithfulness they show towards each other are related by Vanoverbergh but again with fear that Negrito morality is under attack:

Whenever I was able to find out about the deceased parents of the oldest of our Negritos, it appeared that they

had always been faithful to their first partner. Consequently, this apparent laxity in their morals did not seem to be traditional, it rather seemed to have set in after recent closer intercourse with Malays. (1930:531)

This laxity that Vanoverbergh refers to has been documented by other student of the Negritos. Arbues refers to it explaining that, whatever the historical origins of it, it is predominantly a male pursuit:

Sometimes, a husband might have a concubine. In such case he may build another house for the concubine. However, the wife cannot do the same because if she does, she has to refund the expenses which the husband incurred when they got married, even if they have children. (1960:42)

Divorce is permitted and can be arranged through mutual consent and both the partners may marry again. If the woman is thought to be the guilty party the *bandi* must be returned to the man; if it is the man who is in error he forfeits the bride-price. It must be stressed, however, that divorce is unusual. Rice and Tima state:

Divorce, although permitted, is extremely rare. No bachelors were found among the Negritos of the area and only one spinster. Plural marriages are known and accepted in the society but they are infrequent due to the expenses involved. (1973:18)

Headland also noted the infrequency of divorce:

We do not know of a single divorce among couples who married in the socially approved manner of formal contract arrangements between the two kinship groups. A significant minority of young people elope (lepwang), and these marriages often end in divorce. Among the older people, only a few men are known to have deserted their wives and ran away with other women, usually widows. (1975:252)

Cadeliña again reports the low frequency of divorce but at the same time lists the reasons why it may be permitted:

Divorce is not unknown but uncommon. The causes of divorce may be one of the following: barrenness of the wife; lack of food (very rare); uncooperativeness on the part of either spouse; cruelty, usually on the part of the husband who can demand reimbursement of his expenses incurred at his marriage if the wife is at fault or if she is the one seeking divorce. (1968:51)

D. Courtship and Weddings

Vanoverbergh, in some general observations on sex and marriage, gives an insight into the aspects of Negrito society which would precede marriage:

The Negrito has no idea of celibacy, and prostitution is not known. Marriage is the state of life into which every adult Negrito expects to enter sooner or later.

Virginity on the part of the bride is not absolutely required, and a girl who has a child by another man, out of wedlock, will be able to find a husband, although probably with more difficulty.

Coitus is carried out in the ordinary human way, as was assured me by Christians, one of whom had passed the night with them several times. The same man also told me that husband and wife very often slept apart.

The only marriage impediment that seems to exist is that between brothers and sisters and first cousins are allowed to marry. (1925:425-426)

Fox also agrees that first cousin marriage is possible but only after a certain ritual has been carried out:

First cousins can be married when a simple ritual has been accomplished to 'separate the blood'. (1953:190)

The arrangement of marriages has been the subject of much debate. Marriages can be either arranged by the parents or by the couple themselves. Perhaps a change in attitudes has occurred with exposure to Filipino values since the earliest account by Garvan suggests traditions strictly arranged not only by the respective parents but by the elders of the group:

Selection of a wife varies in the different groups but, on the whole, is arranged by the elders, both man and maid being at an adolescent age, if not younger, and being considered as

subject to them. Special betrothal ceremonies are rare. It is sufficient that the matter shall have been discussed and agreed upon by the elders in the presence of the relatives on both sides. Once the betrothal has been agreed upon, all other suitors are precluded. (1963:81)

Vanoverbergh, in an account almost as early as Garvan's, is already suggesting that inter-group differences do exist or that change has occurred in the arrangement of the marriage:

The parents arrange the affair; if the girl or boy does not agree, there is no marriage; if the young people have arranged the matter by themselves, the parents must agree; they give presents, but if there are no presents, it does not matter. (1925:426)

Most research suggests that a young man is ready to marry and start a family by the age of twenty while at the age of sixteen the young women are considered to have learned enough domestic craft to be able to run the home and to help the husband in the various economic chores that make up the substance of daily life.

The *bandi* is an important part of any wedding arrangement and is given due precedence by Rice and Tima in their account of the marriage transaction:

The family of the boy arranges for the marriage by giving a portion of the bride price (bandi) to the girl's parents. During later years more install-

ments are made by the boy's family or by the boy himself to complete the payment. The couple may begin living together as soon as the wife has had her first menstruation. Since the *bandi* is expensive, most of the boys pay a portion of it in the form of service to the bride's parents. (1973: 17-18)

Cadeliña emphasizes the role of the *bandi* and especially the fact that the total burden of the expense falls upon the parents of the prospective groom:

As presented earlier, the bandi and other expenses pose as the main burden of the family of the boy since it is normally a practice to have the groom's parents shoulder all wedding expenses including the bride price. The bride's side practically does not spend a single centavo. (1977:174)

On the island of Negros another different pattern emerges whereby the prospective groom actually courts the girl or at least initiates the proceedings which may lead to his taking of the particular girl in marriage. Cadeliña gives a full account of these practices:

The marriage of a son or daughter is one of the great events in the family and village circle. Nowadays boys may court a girl and get her consent to the marriage before taking up the matter with the parents on both sides. The older way, still practiced, is this: the boy will, after having chosen his prospective bride, request his father

or a middleman to initiate the so called pamulong (negotiations between families). The middleman may be either the father of the boy or another trusted person, usually a relative. If everybody is amenable to the proposed marriage and if agreement on the terms has been reached, the day of the wedding is set. The rights demanded by the parents of the bride, including the bride price are sent in advance to the house of the girl's parents.

Formerly the bride price had to be paid in coins because for the Negritos paper bills were not money. Nowadays, while they still prefer coins to paper, they no longer insist that the whole bride price be presented in coins.

The actual wedding ceremony takes place at the feast, usually held in the house of the bride. (1974:51-52)

The wedding itself, according to Headland, is not the important part of the conjoining of the young couple; rather it is the series of meetings which may cement the bond of kinship between the groups involved:

The wedding (kasal) is not the important rite in a marriage. Rather, the binding rite of a marriage is the sakad, a series of usually three formal meetings between the two kinship groups. There are formal speeches made at these meetings by the go-betweens (bukabli) who are, as already mentioned, usually Malay men. If the girl's family accepts the proposal,

contractual arrangements are made and a bride price is agreed upon.

The prospective groom begins living with the girl's kinship group after the second or third sakad, a form of bride service called sehebi. During this time he lives and sleeps in the house of the girl, with her parents and siblings. He eventually begins sleeping next to the girl, and the marriage is consummated somewhere during this "trial" period. If all goes well, the wedding (kasal) will be arranged after several weeks. Except for the delivering of the bride price by the groom's extended kinship group, this kasal involves only feasting and drinking. (1975:252)

In the arrangement of marriages the Negritos are very practical people. Since marriage contracts can be made when the couple are very young, or even still in the womb, civilized arrangements are made between the prospective families for the contingency that the contract may not eventually be carried out. Arrangements are made that the portion of the *bandi* already paid may be returned. Fox in the following account, noted the difficulties that do emerge:

Failure on the part of the young man and his family to satisfy the requirements of the bride price and the elopement of a boy with a girl who has already been contracted with another boy, are the principal causes of trouble between the Negrito families and

groups. The accumulation of the bandi, usually arrows, bows, balox, cloth, homemade shotguns and money, is the primary concern of the young man, his family, and relatives. Any individual who through selfishness, has antagonized his kin, faces many difficulties. (1953: 189-190)

E. Post-Marital Residence

Although it was mentioned earlier that patrilocality is a feature of Negrito culture, it is not the case in every situation. The previous account by Headland suggests the existence of matrilocality even before the wedding ceremony has been carried out. Cadeliña suggests that neolocality is the norm but qualifies this by suggesting also that:

Moreover the main criterion used in determining the place of residence of a newly wedded couple is the availability of a farm plot for cultivation. In most cases residence after marriage takes a neolocal orientation because the bride's or groom's place can no longer take an additional household cultivator. This often leads to migration of newly wedded children at a distance on the average of around 11 kilometers. Newly wedded couples are never advised to live in a community very far from their parents to maintain continuous contact, a set-up considered advantageous to neophyte family builders. (1977:195)

Vanoverbergh is fairly adamant that the pattern is patrilocal:

Residence appears to be very definitely patrilocal, so far as I could judge. When everything has been settled, the girl goes to the boy's house, and that is all. (1925:426)

Rice and Tima in a statistical survey suggest that there is no fixed pattern of residence after marriage. Their findings favour patrilocality but hardly signifi-

cantly so, leading to the conclusion that the place of residence is more a matter of the availability of land rather than that determined by cultural tradition:

Half of those interviewed indicated that they would live near the boy's family after becoming independent. The rest are equally divided between matrilocal and neolocal residence. (1973:19)

CHAPTER SEVEN

PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH



A. Pregnancy

In the previous chapter considerable emphasis was devoted to the Negrito's love and appreciation of their offspring. The various research findings on pregnancy and childbirth further highlight that emphasis. Every student of the Negrito from Garvan onwards has taken considerable pains to document this aspect of Negrito life and most writings on the subject reflect the joy that the imminent birth of a new member to the society brings to all concerned. The expectant mother is the subject of this account by Fox:

Since children are highly valued among Negritos, the pregnant woman possesses a privileged position in the community. Her share in the catch of hunting parties is double since it is said that there are two of them, anyway. Certain beliefs are also connect-

ed with pregnancy. One of these is the mother's refraining from stepping on cordage, or from tying knots for any of these actions will provoke difficult childbirth. (1953:301)

The taboos confronting the pregnant woman exemplify the great lengths to which the Negrito will go to protect the unborn child. Stewart also reports the extent of these taboos facing the pregnant woman:

Furthermore, she could not be present when the Negritos dug up the tubers which had been stored to ferment away the poisons in them. She could not be present when the bullets were taken out of the rifle barrel, and the medicines had too much force in them to be regarded as ordinary things. They were full of energy, like people, and might make the child want to come out of his mother's womb before its time, or might make her womb

want to get rid of it. Also, the expectant mother had to refrain from eating twin bananas, or any type of fruit which had an unusual shape. Eating these might cause the baby to split in half or to change his shape. (1954:66-67)

Apart from observing the taboos everything proceeds as normal except for minor group differences according to location. Vanoverbergh describes the pregnancy thus:

. . . nothing unusual happens during the pregnancy of the mother and she continues her ordinary occupations without departing in any manner from her usual routine. Marital relations between husband and wife do not suffer any alteration before the birth of a child. However, among the Eastern Luzon Negritos, the husband began to sleep apart from his wife at about the eighth month of pregnancy, and continues to do so until about the sixth month after the birth of his child. (1938:129)

B. Childbirth

Childbirth itself is not generally accompanied by any great traumas and according to Garvan:

Birth pains are not severe and last at most a few hours. A healthy mother is able to resume her occupations within a few hours if not less. Massaging is universal but not forcible. In the rare case of very difficult ac-

couchement, hot stones are applied to the parturient's person in Zambales. There are no professional midwives but here and there certain women acquire a reputation for being better manipulators in difficult childbirth, hence they may be called upon. A sitting position is assumed, the parturient resting her back against a tree or being supported by a companion, until at the moment of delivery she places herself in a supine position. (1963:113)

The practices of delivery vary from area to area and in two accounts, one in Northern Luzon and the other in Eastern Luzon, Vanoverbergh records the similarities and differences in the two locations:

The woman gives birth to her infant in the hut in which the family is living and nobody is forbidden to be present. With the husband and several women present to help the mother, all of them surround her, as is always the case, children would have little opportunity to witness the proceedings, for the house is ordinarily not of the largest. Thus the children would have to stand outside anyhow, and older persons would not be much interested, I suppose.

The mother sits down on her heels, when her child is being born. Inquired if she did not lie down, she answered that she did not, except when she experienced very great difficulty in bringing forth her infant, in which

case she was obliged to take a position that was more restful to her. (1925: 422)

The Negrito mother brings forth her child kneeling down on the floor of her hut, and she is assisted by women who have the necessary experience. Anybody is allowed to be present, whether men or women, and husband is usually not far away.

A small section of bamboo, on which a razorlike edge has been cut, is used for the severance of the umbilical cord, which is wrapped with ashes, enveloped in paper and tied up. The afterbirth is wrapped up in a piece of cloth and buried under the hut. The child is bathed immediately after its birth. (1938:129)

In the Visayan island of Negros the practice differs again, this time with the husband assuming a role of considerable importance. Cadeliña in an observation of the process writes:

When birth seems to be imminent, the husband and perhaps a midwife will stand by to help the wife deliver her child. With the actual onset of labor, other members of the family and the neighbors offer their help. This may take the form of securing leaves or roots of medicinal trees, vines and herbs, as requested by the midwife. During labor the mother lies in a corner of their hut on a mat, the lower part of her body covered with an old flour sack. Her feet are tied to a log

fastened to the floor to aid her in her exertions. During this time, whether a midwife is present or not, the husband stays in the neighborhood of the house, collecting different kinds of medicinal plants while waiting for the baby's birth. As soon as the child begins to emerge, the husband is called in. He hurriedly enters the house with leaves and roots he has prepared. (1974:50-51)

C. Post-Natal Practices

The umbilical cord and the placenta play a strong symbolical part in most Negrito post-natal practices. Both are obviously regarded to have some control over the future of the newborn infant and the way in which they are utilized to invoke desirable effects has been reported by most researchers. In a continuation of the previous quotation, Cadeliña recounts the immediate post-natal situation at some length:

After the child is born, the umbilical cord is cut with the use of sharp bamboo blade. The baby is wrapped in a small piece of cloth and placed by the mother's side. The husband then steps out of the house to fetch his oldest *sag-ub* (bamboo water container). He cuts this above the last internode; the vessel thus produced serves as a receptacle for the placenta, which is kept in the house. To guard against any foul odor, the placenta is mixed with ashes before it is placed inside the bamboo tube. It must never be

thrown out; otherwise, the child might be hit by a draft of cold air which would cause his untimely death. The umbilical cord is likewise kept, but separate from the placenta, until the child is about one year old. It is feared that if the umbilical cord were immediately thrown away, the spirits would be offended by its odor and in punishment kill the child. Once the child reaches his first year of age, the umbilical cord may be put away in a number of places depending on what special abilities the parents desire for this child. If they want their child to become a good diver and swimmer, they place the umbilical cord in a rock cavity in deep water; if they want him to become a good climber, they tie the cord to the top-most branch of a tall tree; if they want the child to have a specially strong and healthy body, they may insert the cord in the stem of a healthy and large plant, e.g., a banana. (Ibid: 51)

Garvan, in usual meticulous fashion, also seeks out the symbolism connected with post-natal practices and is especially careful to annotate and explain the significance of fire in these practices:

Nacritos in general manifest an affinity for fire and ashes in many concerns of life. Thus we find by observation and from current report that the newly arrived bambino is smeared with ashes and then cleaned off with a cloth. Hence it is that

a fire must be made when no ashes are at hand. Reasons assigned for the use of ashes are variously stated as being custom, protection against sickness, defense from cold, promotion of strength and a muniment against evil spirits. The umbilical cord is tied and cut at a distance of from one to two palm-lengths from the navel. Vegetable fiber — for example, banana, *abaka* or *taga* — is employed. The disposition of that part of the umbilical cord which has been removed varies. In the environs of Kalauwag it is burnt to ashes, preserved and, in case of sickness, given with water as potion to the child or to his brothers or sisters. In Katimu, Balankauwitan and Kagay, it is buried. In Magkawayan it is hung up in a package in the house; in the mountains of Labu and Basiag, in a tree, and in Zambales it is hung up till dry and then thrown into a stream to promote, it is thought, the growth of the child. The placenta and other expulsions are buried in the ground—sometimes under the house, as in Balankauwitan and sometimes at the birthplace, as in Katimu. Whatever variation may be observed in the disposition of the placenta and membrane, the observance is universally connected with the idea that the eating or disturbance of them, as, for example, by an animal, would result in sickness, if not death. (1963:113-114)

D. Birth Control

Cadeliña noted that the interval between births averaged about three years and suggested this was indicative of certain techniques employed to prevent conception. He explains two techniques, contraception and abortion, which are utilized in birth control:

The most commonly reported contraceptive is roots of malunggay (horse radish tree) for temporary control. For permanent control, the contraceptive concoction consists of three varieties of trees which are only known by

the medicine man in the community. These roots are boiled together and the juice drunk. Another traditional method is the use of oil to be drunk by the mother. This concoction is prescribed and applied only by the supervision of a medicine man. The most common practice (of abortion) is to pound malunggay roots and put them on top of the mother's belly for nine consecutive days. Abortion through massage is reported but couples do not usually go for it since it causes difficulty and excessive pain on the part of the mother. (1977:183-184)

CHAPTER EIGHT

SOCIALIZATION AND EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG



A. Socialization

The normative standards of Negrito society are inculcated through a process of socialization, aspects of which would be recognizable to parents anywhere in the world. Wrongdoers amongst the children are scolded and punished like their counterparts anywhere. There is, however, a high degree of respect for parents which in some degree must facilitate the socialization process. Vanoverbergh points out that:

Negrito parents are not loath to punish their children when they deserve it, and they are much concerned in teaching them good manners. Commands are often given in a very imperious way, and they are usually obeyed very quickly. In general, little Negrito tots laugh much more than they weep. Respect for elders is rarely wanting among the Negritos. When

one of my companions asked some Negrito girls and boys if they would like to accompany him to his home town, they invariably retorted that they had first to ask their parent's consent. (1938:132)

The same author in an earlier account observed corporal punishment being meted out to errant children:

The parents, although loving their children very fondly and perhaps for this very reason, are not loath to punish them when they so deserve. I have seen many a child receive a slap on his buttocks for carrying a joke too far or for failing to comply satisfactorily with an injunction of his parents. This is rather remarkable because, in general, the inhabitants of the Philippines punish their children very rarely. (1925: 108)

Jean Peterson, however, denies having witnessed physical punishment of children among the Agta group she associated with. She further comments about the prevailing atmosphere of loving and caring:

A child's first experience, then, involves a community of relatives and friends. Thereafter he enjoys constant cuddling, loving, sniffing, and genital stimulation. Adults and children alike love and care for infants. When a child learns to walk he turns more and more toward the companionship of peers. Peers are not only playmates, they are teachers as well. Much of this socialization appears to go on without adult interference. Parents do, of course, expect obedience and cooperation, but they appear to achieve it by gentle teaching and example. I never saw an Agta child physically punished. (1979:27)

The fact that socialization takes place within the bounds of the nuclear family as remarked by the previous author is reinforced by Rice and Tima:

Enculturation is accomplished within the nuclear family. The parents care for the children personally. Other relatives or friends are seldom, if ever, involved in child care in a family. Older children may assist their parents when they are old enough to do so but then the parents are never far away. The children begin to imitate the parents' work at a very early age and the parents sometimes instruct their

children in certain crafts and labor but most of the learning is done by imitation and practice. Moral and ethical instructions are apparently imparted informally during the regular interpersonal relations of the parents with their children. (1973:19)

Imitation is the most effective socialization process in any society and the Negrito child assiduously carries this out when in the company of parents or elders. Fox observed how important this process was in Negrito society and especially so where hunting is concerned for after all that is the economic life-blood of the Negrito groups:

Young male children play, or hunt birds, frogs, lizards, field mice and other small animals, with toy bows made of bamboo. It is play activities such as this one which copy adult behaviour that train the children for the responsibilities of their culture. Formal teaching is rare, for example, the father does not systematically show his son how to make the bow and arrow, but rather the child learns by observation, and by copying activities. Very small pack-baskets, sometimes used by the woman, but mostly by young girls as they mimic the work activities of their mothers, are found. (1953:273)

Garvan also recorded the imitative feature of socialization and again importantly in the context of adult, occupational roles:

For instance, the boys will run around plying their arrows at every conceivable object or shoot up into the trees at the fruit as if they were imaginary birds and then again they will play robbing birds' nests or go through an imaginary hunt, one youngster simulating the game. Girls, on the other hand, set up house and play house-keeping. Those of about the same age play together and when they are tired of running helter skelter in the environment of the camp they return and sit down and tell stories among themselves or help the parents with the little chores on hand. (1963:134)

B. Formal Education

With the encroachment of lowlanders into Negrito traditional homelands and also with the Negrito's needs for goods produced by the more industrialized Philippine society, formal education for the groups has been undertaken by the government and private, development foundations. Most of the groups have reacted negatively to this imposition and often with the completely rational reason that it does not cater to their immediate needs. A Negrito father would naturally consider it more important that his son learn the techniques of the bow and arrow since it has more immediate value to the society than being able to read and write. Cadelina, however, stresses the need for formal schooling if only to prevent the Negritos from being cheated by lowlanders and to remove the various derogatory ideas lowlanders have about them:

It goes without saying that every possible effort should be made to get the Negrito children to go to school, if only to learn the 3 r's. This would, for one thing, help them to adapt themselves to the rapidly developing money-based economy. It will also remove the present stigma of illiteracy, which is the object of much ridiculing by the lowlanders. In time, they would find themselves also better equipped for transacting business with the lowlanders without falling victims to the tricks employed by them in their dealings with the Negritos. (1974:57)

Rice and Tima noted the negative reactions of the Negritos to formal education and stress the Negrito understanding that it leads to cheating and dishonesty and perhaps most importantly the abandoning of the culture by those receiving it:

There is at present a negative attitude of most Negritos outside of Baliwet toward formal education. None of the high prestige families considers itself literate, even the one which lives in Baliwet. The people generally feel that education is a method by which people learn how to cheat their neighbours and leave the land and that education destroys morality. They also consider that it interferes with the training of their children for the serious tasks of earning a living and caring for a family. On the basis of their past experience with the few of their children who have received a

formal education, there seems to be valid reasons for such attitudes. (1975:40)

With the Dumagat the observations made by Headland suggest that formal education might succeed because the parents give some encouragement to children but he also stresses cultural change as the most likely outcome:

Since the war, the government has established many schools in the valley, and has encouraged the Dumagats to send their children to school. However, few Dumagat children attend. The few who do start school each year usually drop out within a few weeks. In order to try to counteract this tendency, the 55th Philippine Constabulary Battalion has initiated a project to encourage Dumagat children to go to school. In July 1975, as a result of this encouragement, forty-seven Dumagat children enrolled in the elementary school at Kalabgan. All but seven are in grade one. Since the parents live nearby, and have a positive attitude, it is hoped that this project will succeed. Although the Dumagats have shown little interest in having their children attend the school, the influence of these schools, both now and before the war, should not be minimized as a cause of Dumagat culture change. (1975:253)

In a study of the Mamanua, Maceda also noted the negative disposition of the group towards formal education and, as

we suggested at the beginning of this section, points out that the education imparted has little value for the Negritos in their everyday life:

The school was of the type common to all rural areas in the country, and had the same curriculum offerings. No special efforts seem to have been exerted to fit the school to the needs of the Mamanua. It seems to have been taken for granted that the Mamanua children were sufficiently like those of the Christian lowlanders to be able to go through the same schools. These expectations were never fulfilled. Used to the cultural demands of foodgathering and hunting, the Mamanua pupils and their parents never stayed put. The longest they could tolerate, except for one or two children of semi-permanent residents in the area, was one year of stay in the place. There was a succession of four teachers and four schools, which never went beyond the second grade. (1975: 268)

C. Circumcision

Circumcision has long been practised by Negrito people. Research shows that the age may vary from eleven years to fifteen years of age. Since this age range roughly coincides with male puberty it might be inferred that an age grading system is in operation i.e., that the newly circumcised boy is passing from childhood into youth or even into manhood. This would follow Van Gennep's concept of the rites of pas-

age with the act of circumcision marking the transition from one social status to the next in the hierarchy. Unfortunately no clear evidence exists to support this amongst Negrito groups but an account by Vanoverbergh suggests that marriage would not take place before circumcision had been performed:

Several Negritos told me that all males are circumcised. The operation is performed by an old man: the foreskin is cut open, not cut off; it is done some time before marriage, but not in extreme youth, as many young boys, more than twelve years old, were not yet circumcised. (1937:912)

Garvan, however, does mention one group which regards circumcision as something more than emulation of the Malays whom the Negrito may have copied in the act of circumcising the young males:

Ordinary betrothal takes place after the first menses, the young man being from some thirteen to sixteen years old. Scarification is a sign of betrothal among some groups and in Apayao group circumcision is regarded as essential to the procreation of a child. (1963:82)

Headland's research supports the earlier account by Vanoverbergh:

The Dumagats practice partial male circumcision (bug't) at puberty, exactly as Vanoverbergh reports it, except that the operation is performed by older teenage boys or young men,

rather than by an old man. A single cut is made across the top of the foreskin, leaving the foreskin to hang loose. (1975:248)

Maceda's comparative study of the Mamanua and other Asian Negritos puts the ritual element beyond doubt, at least for the particular group of Negritos. It is stated that:

Amongst the Mamanua there are no initiation ceremonies for the two sexes. The boys are, however, circumcised. Circumcision is practiced by some of the Aeta of Ragay (Camarines Sur), but Garvan says that this practice has nothing to do with marriage. It is reported that among the Aeta of South-eastern Zambales, when a youngster wants to be scarified, it is a sign that he wants to get married; and as soon as the girl has her first menstrual flow, she is isolated. (1975:58)

If the act of circumcision, in any sense, is a sign of the coming of age amongst the young male Negritos then menstruation seems to indicate a similar situation with the young female. Garvan paid considerable attention to this period in the life of the young girls even down to noting the physical changes that took place:

In the girl's case, the signs of adolescence are the same as among ourselves, except that her hair becomes "oily", i.e., glossier, and frizzles more. Also, her system begins to secrete a peculiar odor which prompts her to have re-

...the use of fragrant seeds as
...pendants or both.
(1913:18)

It may seem strange to include the cir-
cumcision process in the context of so-
cialization but it is an indication to the
young male that a new role may be as-

sumed. It does inform him that his role
is changing and at some time in the not
so distant future he should be taking a
bride and contributing to the procreation
of the group. Likewise for the first men-
strual cycle since the indicators to the young
girl are that she can expect to be courted
and eventually wed.

CHAPTER NINE

SICKNESS, DISEASE AND REMEDIES

A. Causative Factors

Among the Negrito people a magico-religious dimension impinges on almost all explanations of sickness and disease. These explanations are so deeply ingrained in the Negrito culture that they remain virtually unquestioned. Fox highlighted this phenomenon but also pointed out that the degree of seriousness was a determining factor in Negrito attempts to explain sickness and disease:

The Negritos make no attempt to explain or justify their "theories of disease" in a systematic and logical manner. There are few, if any, Negritos who would challenge traditional beliefs no matter how contradictory the beliefs might be. Moreover, the causative explanations, as well as the methods in which the sickness is treated, depend upon a number of factors: (1) the type and seriousness of the sickness,

for example, the Negritos do not normally explain skin diseases as being caused by the spirits, rather it is the common belief that dermatitis is inherited, but if any sickness is serious, the spirits are always involved and (2) the presence, or absence, of traditional explanations for sicknesses. For example, the Negrito is greatly concerned with thunder and "thunder attacks" and has elaborate explanations, preventions, and cures for this condition, but there is little concern with, and no explanation for, an uncomplicated "common cold". (1953:321)

Cadeliña reinforces Fox's findings but goes on to suggest that change might already be occurring with more scientific explanations emanating from younger people:

The Negritos believe that diseases are caused by spirits. This may happen

in one of the following ways: (1) a person has incurred the displeasure of a spirit by failing to ask his permission, e.g., to start a **kaingin** in virgin forest; (2) he has accidentally stepped on the spot inhabited by a spirit, especially a so-called "sickly" spirit and failed to ask his forgiveness; (3) he has taken a bath in the spring which had been previously used by "sickly spirits"; (4) finally, the disease may have been caused by a wicked spirit, called **libod**, who mischievously likes to spread illness among people. This belief in the spirit causation of illness is beginning to change. I met two young respondents who had learned that illness may be caused by germs. (1974:53)

Sickness and disease which is spirit-induced has to be cured by placating or getting rid of the spirit which 'caused the problem' in the first place. Fox, again, amongst the Pinatubo Negritos gives this interesting account of how other spirits can be invoked to remove the evil one:

*The Negritos employ simultaneously several theories as to the cause of sickness and disease. The theory most generally heard, as we have noted, is that spirits "directly" cause illness through having been provoked or antagonized by the actions of an individual. In most instances, the cause of the sickness is determined, and the cure effected by a medium, the **manganito** in a "curing seance" called the **anituwan**. The medium invokes personal spirits, which have been attracted to*

the medium who acts as the "host" to capture the spirit which has entered the body of the patient, and caused the sickness. When the evil spirit has been captured, it is either appeased or destroyed by the spirit-helpers of the medium. This action alone may be sufficient to constitute a cure and there is no use of the 200 medicinal plants known to the Pinatubo pygmies. On other occasions, the spirit-helper of the medium will recommend specific medicinal plants to speed the cure. (1953:319-321)

In some cases, such as skin diseases, some Negritos do not use magico-religious explanations but call upon a 'theory' of attachment to the body as if the manifestation of the skin disease was a leech or insect. Cadelina remarked upon this idea:

*Certain very common affliction like **garis** (ringworm), **ap-ap** (tinia flava), boils and even open sores are not considered "real" disease by the Negritos. Both from our interviews and my observations, I discovered that Negritos are neither afraid of these complaints nor worried when afflicted by them; they seem to have no idea about their cause, either. Their standard comment was **kay nitapot lang**. "It is just something that attached itself to the body." (1974:53)*

Explanations of sickness, misfortune and death can be even more complex as attested once again by Fox:

The Pinatubo Negrito is not wholly unaware of the sometime causes of sickness, as he knows, for example, that a broken leg is the result of a broken bone, and he treats the break pragmatically. However, as we have noted a spirit might have originally arranged environmental conditions so that the Negrito would break his leg. Sympathy for illness and death is somewhat dulled by this attitude. A Negrito will remark about the death of a person that was "his misconduct" (a personal problem of the relationships between an individual and spirits and supernatural forces), and a death cannot always be prevented by human actions even with the aid of the strongest spirit-helpers and medicines. Nevertheless, great concern is shown when a person is seriously ill, and mediums will be employed constantly, markedly interrupting ordinary daily life, until the person becomes well or dies. (1953:320)

B. Preventive Medicine

Negritos take great care of their teeth and the omnipresent betel nut is much utilized as a cleaner of the teeth. Cadelina informs us that:

The Negritos ascribe medicinal value to the chewing of betel nut and tobacco, which are their favorite stimulants. Chewing either of these is supposed to have the following desirable effects: (1) It protects the teeth from decay. They believe that

teeth may be invaded by "worms" which enter the mouth with the drinking water or the food. The worms eat the pulp of the tooth and eventually cause the tooth to decay. The piece of the betel nut (with the accompanying leaf and lime) or of tobacco kills the worm. (2) It keeps the mouth from drying out, especially while traveling or starting a clearing, etc. (3) It helps to assuage hunger.

The men reported that they could chase game for a whole day without once stopping for food as long as they had chew. They clean their teeth regularly by rubbing the teeth and gums with the peeling of the betel nut, or guava leaves or limestone ground into a fine powder, or salt. (1974:53)

C. Curative Medicine

As one would expect, curative medicine predominates in Negrito culture as it does in most preliterate situations. Sickness or disease is rarely treated before the symptoms appear. They have knowledge of an immense range of medicinal plants although in many cases scientific evaluation of these plants and herbs is needed before their efficacy can be fully asserted. Most groups would also possess an *herbolaryo* (herb doctor) who would be responsible for collecting and dispensing the various herbs and plants. Cadelina describes the role of the *mananambal* of the island of Negros:

In case of serious illness, a mananambal (also called babaylan) is called, but usually only after the family of the sick person have tried all the medication known to them, such as herbs, the leaves of various trees or vine, or medicinal oil. The mananambals are believed to be expert both in diagnosing diseases and prescribing the appropriate cure. There are great many medicinal plants that are considered effective remedies for specific ailments. A mananambal not only is expected to be thoroughly familiar with all these and their curative properties, but also how to produce effective medicinal concoctions from these and other ingredients, such as oil. (1974:53)

In an article by Rahmann and Maceda, an account is given of the *herbolaryos* of the Ati of Panay; not only do these herb doctors prescribe amongst the group but they have developed commercial ties in the neighbouring island of Cebu where they transport the medicinal plants to the market:

The gathering of the medicinal plants and roots is done by herbolarios. They dry them under the sun and sell them in different markets of Antique, Iloilo and Cebu. In this connection mention should be made of the selling of love potions (lumay) to the Christians. The charms consist of plants mixed with oil. (1962:636)

Vanoverbergh recounts an interesting story when he obviously had a narrow

escape but must have been comforted to some degree when shown a medicinal plant which would have provided the antidote had he not been so fortunate:

One day we met a large green venomous snake in the forest; we had barely walked a few yards when one of my Negrito guides showed me a small plant, the bark of which he assured me would cure a person bitten by such a snake, provided it were crushed and applied to the wound within a short time after the infliction of the latter. The Negrito called the plant balanisín and said that it would grow up into a comparatively large shrub; but the specimen I saw was much too small to allow me to identify it satisfactorily. (1930:565)

Cure-alls are to be found even in the most advanced societies and there is usually a considerable number of people who will attest to their effectiveness. The Negritos are no exception. Cadeliña provides the Negrito example and also the heroic story which is told to prove the power of the cure-all:

There is one very rare kind of medicine, called himag, a sort of medicinal oil, that is considered highly effective for all kinds of wounds, both internal and external. I was told the story of an accident which had happened years ago to illustrate the great power of this medicine. One day, so the story went, a group of Negritos armed with spears went on a wild-pig hunt. After

Dumagat medicine man in deep concentration during a healing ritual. (Photo by ASI COMMUNICATIONS)



A ritual among the Dumagats for curing/healing purposes (Photo by ASI COMMUNICATIONS)

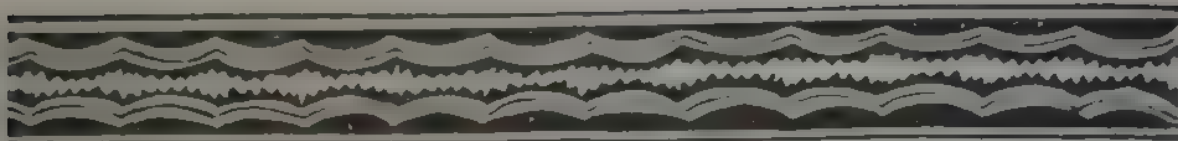


chasing a very big boar for a number of hours, they finally succeeded in cornering it in a small patch of forested ground. One of the Negritos spotted the boar and threw his spear at it. Unfortunately, the boar was too quick for the hunter, and the spear hit in-

stead another hunter watching at the other side of the thicket. The spear almost pierced his body. The victim was carried home, after the spear had been removed, and was given the himag to drink. His life was saved. (1974: 53-54)

CHAPTER TEN

DEATH AND BURIAL



It is difficult to generalize about death and the subsequent burial practices amongst the various Negrito groups. What most researchers have observed, however, is that great grief is experienced by most of the group on the death of one of its members. It is perhaps not to be unexpected that a group of people, so close-knit and joyous in life, would experience considerable grief when someone dies. Garvan was the first to make general comments on the explicit behaviour and also the thoughts of the Negritos when death appears. The author has reasonable bases for his generalizations since he observed no fewer than sixteen death and burial scenes covering the entire area of Luzon:

Whenever I found Negritos who have frequent and friendly relations particularly of casual intermarriage, with contiguous tribes, then I found partial adoption of the practices and beliefs

of those tribes, but amongst the remote forest folk, mortuary ideas and practices varied from group to group, from region to region, within a day's tramp. The following, however, were the more general features of death and burial happenings in nearly all the regions visited by me: manifestations of intense indescribable grief; notification of death to absent relatives; inhumation without coffin; fear of the dead including the belongings and name; belief in the survival of the spirit; offerings to that spirit; expectation of future aid from it; belief in the presence of necrophagous and other malignant spirits around the corpse; safeguards against them in the form of fire, fungi and so forth; abandonment of the death site; the wearing of a sign of mourning; the observance of sundry restrictions and the circling of the grave with a rude enclosure. (1963:163-164)

Arbues observed the obvious grief and also the desertion of the burial site after a specific period of mourning.

If someone dies, the body is soon bathed, dressed, put on a mat, and with much wailing is buried in the garden. An offering of food is put on the grave and after nine days, the whole group moves off. (1960:41)

Stewart was also observant of the overwhelming atmosphere of grief surrounding the group during the burial rites:

At a funeral ceremonial weeping continues all night before the burial. The half-sung, half-wept laments are poems about the deceased, expressing sentiments of appreciation and longing with great simplicity. No humorous interludes were injected by the children, and the cumulative effect is overwhelming. (1954:98)

Stewart goes on to point out the meticulous detail that is paid to every aspect of the burial:

Every detail of the burial is extremely important. The stick with which the corpse is measured to determine the length of the grave has to be broken and buried with the body. At the bottom of the grave a shelf must be dug out, and under it the body is placed, the head pointing toward the east. While the grave is being filled, the footprints of whoever tamps the earth must be carefully erased with a willow broom, to keep his soul from being imprisoned in the grave with

that of the deceased. There are ceremonial washings for all who help to carry the body. Sacrifices of food must be left by the grave. Throughout the whole procedure, the Negritos speak to the departed spirit with advice, instruction, and magical commands, supplications and prayers to Tolandian. (Ibid: 99-100)

Stewart is writing about the Negritos of Zambales in Western Luzon and again it is impossible to generalize about practices amongst other groups in other regions. Garvan, again because of the immense distances he travelled, explains the difficulties of generalization and also lists the practices he observed in different parts of the archipelago:

Details as to the collocation, orientation, and so forth, of the corpse and of the grave vary widely. Thus I found vertical and horizontal graves, interment under or over the place of demise, burial near or at some distance, burial with or without a protective shed, burial near water or away from it, burial on high or on low ground. Interment of adults, of children and shamans (found only in a few regions) is different everywhere. Leaves or bark or palm slats or mats, or trade-cloth, and so forth serve at once for shroud and coffin, according to the usage of the group or of the region, which usage may depend on the material available in each district or at the place of death. Details of the diverse performances at the grave

just before burial manifest a similar diversification. There is throwing of ashes or of earth into the air, placing of something on the abdomen of the deceased, formal measuring of the grave site, collocation of a bamboo internode in a vertical position and various other actions that are familiar to one group or to another. (1963: 164)

In Eastern Luzon Vanoverbergh also observed the practice of using leaves as a shroud or impermanent coffin:

At Ditailin (Bal.) I was informed by Mr. Molina that the Negritos bury their dead in the ground, in a supine posture, in a kind of coffin made of leaves or of something similar; after digging the grave, they put a layer of leaves at the bottom and on both sides of the place that will be occupied by the corpse, then they lower the latter and cover it with another layer of leaves, after which they fill up the grave, but put nothing on top. Later on, I received exactly the same information from the Negritos themselves, except that, instead of leaves or something similar, they mentioned bark of trees. (1938:147)

In Northern Negros the Ata in former years performed, on occasion, some violent rituals on the death of a member of the group. As Rahmann and Maceda point out, the Ata also believe that the dead person through his charms can inflict punishment on a person 'defiling' the site of the grave:

*Masinadya said that the dead were buried in the ground three feet deep. They plant a variety of bamboo on the graves so that no person may step over them. Emok remarked that anyone who jumped over a grave would turn yellow, because with the dead are buried his charms. According to Emok, the Ata would, in former years, after the death of a relative, go in a group on what they called **ambak**. Any person or animal met by the party was killed. But the Negritos would cry at the same time, pointing to a certain direction. If the person looked in that direction, he was killed on the spot and left there. Unless they could in such a way kill a man or an animal, the dead would not be buried. On the occasion the Negritos wore a dress, called **kambot** which was made of the bark of the **bolbolan** tree. The same dress was used in tribal wars. (1955:832)*

Rahmann and Maceda also account for burial ceremonies on the island of Panay. In Iloilo and Antique respectively they state:

*In Iloilo, the dead Ata are buried in a cemetery belonging to sitio Demeses, which lies south of barrio Sianon. The corpse is placed in a coffin, made of bamboo splits, which is called **langkapan**. Later it is interred in the Christian manner. In the above-mentioned cemetery it was difficult to locate the graves because of the tall grass. Only three could be distinguished*

clearly. There was no definite arrangement of the graves, but it seems that the general direction of the faces of the dead was towards east; according to the guide the cross is always placed over the head of the dead.

After burial the mourning for the dead goes on for three days. Then a feast is tendered by the living for the soul of the departed. It should be noted here that the cemetery is far from the inhabited part of sitio Deme-ses. (1958:876)

Among the Antique Negritos, the body of a deceased Ati is buried the day after the death. Tina and Villafont possess a cemetery on a hill in the neighborhood of the barrio. Both cemeteries are separated from the settlement by two rivers. In Tina, no special preparations are made for the interment. In Villafont, a retired school teacher gave the following description of the (former) burial practices of the Ati in that place. A hollowed out part of a tree trunk, preferably of the fire tree (*dapdap*), served as coffin; with the colour obtained from a fruit, called *achuetes*, it was painted red. After the corpse had been placed in it, a ceremony, called *didí*, was performed. A man would go down from the hut and three times strike a mortar with a pestle. Another man would repeat the pounding upstairs in the hut on the mat holding a container filled with live charcoal and shouting at

the same time: *di-di-di-di*. The same ceremony was performed in other houses. Then the coffin was brought to the cemetery. At least in Tina the customary Filipino mourning period of nine nights, called *belasyon* is observed. It consists of prayers for the dead which are followed by different kinds of entertainments for the purpose of cheering up the relatives of the deceased. As among the Christian Filipinos, a banquet (*katapusan*) is held at the end of the mourning period. (1962:641-642)

In the account of Garvan, the author traces the journey of the corpse from the camp to the burial site and the intense detail that is part of the beliefs of Negritos about spiritual phenomena surrounding the dead person:

Burial takes place on the following day as a general rule. One, two or four men convey the corpse, slowly, silently and respectfully to its resting-place, being accompanied by the relatives in one long file. Each group has its own ideas as to occurrence of ill omen during the trip and diverse restrictions are enjoined.

The provisioning of the dead with comforts and the tribute to him of objects calculated to ensure his post-mundane welfare and to secure his effective friendliness towards those surviving are invariable practices in all regions visited by me. Food in one form or another, smoking and betel nut chewing requisites, in the form

of cigarettes and of quids, constitute the main offerings, if they are at all available. Cooked rice is considered a token of greater regard on the part of the living and of greater predilection on the part of the dead. Such collocations are thought to serve for the replenishment of the demised.

The collocation of material objects on or near the grave for the use of the deceased is observed everywhere. Among such objects, bows and arrows are of almost general application but in certain districts another weapon such as a bolo may be substituted or placed concurrently. (1963:164-165)

Although Garvan claims it is difficult to generalize, and in many respects his observation is valid, it is possible to abstract from the research that has been done certain facets of death and burial practices which prevail in nearly all Negro groups. The following appear to

be the more general aspects of the rituals and practices involved:

- a) Intense grief is experienced amongst all groups.
- b) Burial is almost always without the presence of a permanent coffin.
- c) There is general fear of the deceased's spirit.
- d) Malevolent spirits haunt the site of the grave.
- e) Collocation of material objects is made to secure the dead person's continuing goodwill.
- f) The site of the burial is abandoned after the requisite mourning period.

The belief as to how the spirit or soul leaves the body varies from group to group e.g. in some it is through the big toe while in others it is through the mouth but it is logical, considering these beliefs, to face the corpse in the direction in which the soul is thought to depart.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

RELIGION AND OTHER BELIEFS



There is considerable diversity of opinion as to the form religion takes amongst the Negrito groups. Some students of the Negritos stress the monotheistic nature of Negrito beliefs while others lay more emphasis on the animistic practices observed by the groups. The monotheists recognize the existence of lesser spirits but tend to explain the religious system in terms of the overall supernatural being as the focus of Negrito attention. The animists, on the other hand, wholly emphasize the multitude of spirits as the predominant factor in Negrito religious life.

A. Monotheism

Vanoverbergh lays stress on monotheistic practices:

When formerly I visited the Negritos in Apayau and in Western Cagayan, I found them worshipping one supreme being, offering him the first fruits of the hunt, and performing a nocturnal ceremony seemingly in his

honor. With reference to the latter, there was a notable difference in the conduct of the same between the pagan Negritos in the extreme northwest and Allakapan Negritos farther east; the Nagan Negritos, who live more isolated than most other Negrito group, were strikingly respectful the whole night through, while the Allakapan Negritos, who live surrounded by Christian Malays, performed this ceremony in a much less edifying manner. (1938:160)

Some accounts of Negrito religion give an insight into a complex belief system which embraces both a supreme being and lesser spirits through which the supreme being may rule. Arbues gives a detailed description of four concepts through which the "great creator" rules and expresses his will:

The Negritos believe in the great creator who rules the earth through the following: Tigbalog — who gives life

and directs activity; **Loeve** — who directs production and growth; **Amas** — who moves to pity, love, unity and peace of heart; **Binangewan** — the spirits who bring change, sickness and death as punishment. These spirits live in the **balele** tree. He who wishes to pray to a god for help, takes a bath and then, in the later afternoon, picks up his farming or hunting implements and carrying a fire-branch, goes out alone. Then he starts up a fire, places on it some **masigan** grass and, kneeling in the fragrant smoke, makes his petition, at the same time holding up his implements to be blessed. (1969:41)

Other authors also mention the existence of a supreme being controlling lesser spirits or deities. Maceda noted the existence of a spiritual hierarchy and interestingly describes how the Negrito envisages the form of the supreme being:

*Among the Mamanua the belief in a supreme being, called **Magbabaya**, is clearly marked. According to the Mamanua, **Magbabaya** appears just like a man, but nobody who sees him lives to tell of the experience. Others say the supreme being appears like a fire and lives in the heavens, in an easterly direction; some Mamanua say that he lives in a cave. He is the creator of man, of animals, of plants, etc.; and the thunder and lightning are owned by him. Besides **Magbabaya**, the Mamanua often bring up **Ough** as a powerful deity. Be-*

*sides the minor deities there are other spirits under him. Among the Mamanua there is **Tama** the herder of the game (sometimes referred to as the owner) and other spirits who are either harmful or helpful. (1975: 95-98)*

Much earlier Garvan took a more sceptical view of Negrito belief in the existence of a supreme being but, without giving reasons, suggests that some groups do hold to a creed which suggests belief in one overall deity:

*Taking the Pygmies as a whole they have no supreme spirit but here and there may be a group or even a number of contiguous groups who for some reason or another had gotten the idea that there existed a supreme spirit. For instance in northeastern Zambales they believed in a spirit called **Katala** and his wife **Katamba** who lived in the sky. As to the nature of the spirits I got just as many explanations as I would get if I went around to find out what was the nature of God from the average group of Christians. The main intelligible idea they had as to these prenatal beings was that they should be called on when the **anitu** or even deceased spirits troubled anyone too much. (1963:227)*

B. Animism

Fox gives powerful evidence of the religion of the Negritos of Panatubo being animistic in nature. He says of this particular group:

*The Pinatubo Negritos believe that a myriad of spirits generally called **anito** or **kamana**, inhabit the total environment. A number of these spirits are specifically evil, but in general the environmental spirits may be either malicious or friendly depending upon the purposeful or accidental relationships that the individual Negrito has with the spirits.*

*An example of a specifically evil and very dangerous spirit is the **balandang**. A pygmy seen or caught by the spirit in the forest is immediately killed. His relative will know that it was an act of **balandang** when there is much blood on the ground near the body of the person, but there will be no wounds on his body. This spirit is also known to live in the fighting bolo, the **katana**.*

In contrast to the few spirits which are only evil and dangerous, countless spirits inhabit the environment which are normally friendly and helpful but which, when provoked, may cause sickness and even death.

*Recognizing the power of **balandang** and other spirits, the pygmies perform specific activities to maintain and insure harmonious relationship.*

The spirits are very human in their action and desires. Specific trees, bamboo thickets, rocks, and caves are their homes, and particular forest glades, as well as animals, their property. They have families and children (1951:305-306)

The true nature of animism is, of course, to ascribe to the inanimate objects of the environment a spiritual dimension. Some preliterate groups carry this practice to the extent of attributing a spiritual or living condition to everything in the environment.

Garvan gives a description of this practice when claiming:

I cannot make a classification of the spirits believed in here, suffice to say that I have found individuals believing in spirits of birth, of rivers and of sea, local spirits of mountain, hill, valley and ravine, spirits of certain forest spots and of open places, spirits of sky, air and stream, spirits of certain trees and lonely and far places and finally of disease and comfort. The spirits of the coast, the sea and of distant places are considered to be more potentially evil than those that are thought to dwell nearer.' (1963: 222-223)

Cadelina also noted this aspect of Negrito religion and also gives the rationale behind the existence of the spirit in such a thing or place i.e. the first to exist in such a place became the spiritual guardian:

In general the Negritos seem to believe any physical feature of the environment that has something impressive or mysterious about it to be inhabited by spirits. This could be any of the spirits: a cliff, a waterfall, a spring,

a cave, a river, certain trees, especially the black balet, even leaves of trees, whether green or dry. The spirits inhabiting these various places are called *taglugar tagipuyo*, which literally means "from the place", "inhabiting a place". They are thought to be the first inhabitants of these places and their guardians. Any untoward behavior committed by a Negrito in such a place would offend its spirit with unpleasant consequences for the offender. Besides these local genii, there are also the souls of the dead to be reckoned with. (1974:50)

Fox goes to considerable lengths to demonstrate the predominant animism amongst the Pinatubo Negritos including the respect with which plants possessing a spirit are treated. He also points out the way in which certain charms or talismans are individualistically maintained:

Many plants are recognized by the Pinatubo Negritos as being solely the property of spirits and for this reason are potentially dangerous. If a pygmy should deliberately, or even accidentally, violate these plants sickness, perhaps death, will be the penalty demanded by the offended spirit(s). It is interesting to note that unusual properties which a plant may have, such as the pitcher plants, plants with flowers and stems having strong odors, etc., are apparently important in conceptually stimulating the relationships of a plant with spirits. Plants which

are non-edible, e.g. mushrooms and ear fungi, are classified in the same manner.

A few plants are traditionally believed to have intrinsic supernatural "power", when manipulated, and are employed as love charms, as protection against the evil spirits, and so forth. These plants are common property and their uses as charms, etc. are institutionally established and recognized.

In addition, individuals particularly the hunters, will have personal charms, bola, which in many instances are also derived from plants. These talismans are highly esoteric and are recognized as having mana only through the magico-religious experiences of one person. The bola are rarely shown to another person, or even discussed. (1953:307, 310)

As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, every attempt is made to appease the spirits which are mostly regarded as malevolent. Rice and Tima explain this fear of spirits and the offering of gifts:

It is necessary for the Negritos to avoid antagonizing any of the spirits for fear that they might take revenge, either by causing illness or death or by causing some natural disaster or misfortune to occur. Gifts of rice, chickens, eggs, tobacco, camote, etc., are made to the spirits at various times. (1973:29-30)

El: some authors go on to explain how the cosmological beliefs of the Negritos are carried over into economic activity:

As a result of their cosmology, the Negritos tend to be conservative in their methods of exploitation of their natural resources. They would prefer not to cut down any trees unless it is necessary. They do not clear an area for their swidden any larger than they are actually able to cultivate. To be wasteful of the natural resources would be insulting to the spirits of the places affected who would punish those responsible. (Ibid: 30-31)

C. Soul and Afterworld

Inter-group differences also exist in explanations of soul and afterworld. One account by Vanoverbergh suggests Negrito indifference to the possibility of gods and of life after death:

It must be said in general, as I have been able to hint at on several occasions in my diary, that it is very hard to obtain clear and definite statements about the belief of the Negritos in the deity and in life after death. After having lived for some time among them one has the conviction that the generality of them do not care very much about life after death, and that their notion of God is very vague. Their isolation from one another and their almost solitary life go far to explain this vagueness and ignorance, and the loss of their own language

must also have contributed a great deal to make them forget the meaning of the few religious practices that remain undoubtedly their own.

Nevertheless I am convinced that all of them, without exception believe in God and in life after death. Nobody who has lived with them, who has heard them talk, and who understands something of their daily life and practices, could reasonably doubt it. (1930:543)

From the indifference in Vanoverbergh's account we may again turn to Garvan who highlights not only the strength of belief in soul and afterworld but also gives considerable evidence as to the complexity and highly explanatory nature of the Negrito understanding of these phenomena:

The soul is always considered separate and a separate entity dwelling in the body which may leave it transiently as for example in dreams, or permanently, as in the case of death. Other living things may have only one soul but man may have from one to three according to the belief of any given group. It is the soul or souls which keep the body from decay and which enable a man to think and know and feel. The soul can wander in sleep and when we dream the dreams are everywhere thought to be the doings of our souls.

After its departure the human soul either goes off to a paradise of fruits or remains so many days with the body,

in some places as long as nine days, that is, until after the katapusan of the Filipinos.

As I said before there is everywhere a very clear distinction between the soul as a separate entity and the vital principle, which is considered to be in the pulse, heat, blood and brain so that when a soul becomes separated from the body by death it knows and feels and performs the operations which it had in life. After death it still feels the need of all the material things of life at least for so many days after death or at each recurring new moon for so many months. (1963: 213-214)

The traditional belief system contained no reference to any place which could be equated with the Christian concept of Hell. Souls just wandered invisible in the same world as living Negritos. Again diffusion of Christian principles have somewhat altered this cosmological system and where contact with Christian groups has been widespread the concept of Hell begins to manifest itself. Garvan suggests this is true of coastal Negritos:

*As a very general rule very few groups or comparatively few individuals believe in a system of reward and punishment in the afterlife except among those Pygmies who live near the coast and have the idea that there is an espiáno (Spanish *infierno*, hell). The Pygmy afterworld is on the whole very much like their own forest world. The soul or souls leave the*

body and take up their residence in the vicinity. Everywhere it is believed that the condition of the dead is most happy. The dead sometimes find themselves in need of something from their former abode. This need they indicate by troubling the living in some way. It is always possible to figure out just what is wrong and what the needy dead desire.

In general there is no new marriage in the afterlife. The husband lives with his former wife and members of the same family dwell together. In other words, as a very general rule, the afterworld is a replica of this world. (Ibid: 215)

D. Religious Ceremonies and Prayers

Prayers, sacrifices and ceremonies, the usual paraphernalia of most religious systems, according to Garvan, are not a conspicuous part of Negrito life. He contends that only where respect for the dead is concerned are there regular religious ceremonies. The author also takes into account the Filipino regard for paganism which forces the Negrito to hold ceremonies away from the eyes of disparaging lowlanders:

It should be noted from the beginning that with very few exceptions there are no sacrifices in Pygmydom and with not many exceptions, few offerings. Ceremonies may be performed on the occasion of death, sickness —

if the patient expresses a desire or consents — weddings, births, general welfare and on occasions when scarcity of food might be feared as during the rainy season or on the occasion of floods. As a very general rule ceremonies for the welfare of the departed are more frequent in every locality. In some localities there may be a commemoration of the recent dead almost every week. In other places they may be held nearly every moon. No general rule can be laid down. The custom of each individual group must be learned on the spot. As to the place where these ceremonies are held, if the Pygmy lives near Filipinos who look down upon paganism, they will hold their ceremony well removed from view. (Ibid: 228)

Vanoverbergh dispels Garvan's notion by suggesting that prayer and ceremonial gatherings may be more general than the earlier account gives credit for. He is on record as suggesting that no special occasion is needed for Negritos to pray and that:

Prayers always took place inside the house, never outside. The Negritos sometimes prayed one night only, sometimes two nights consecutively, but only during the night. If more than two consecutive nights were devoted to prayer, on the third night, they usually passed to another house.

In the daytime, they either slept or hunted. He said that everybody might

stand up at prayer if they so desired, men and women alike. He added that the Negritos had the prayer ceremonies after a marriage, after a burial, when somebody was dangerously ill, and at other times, whenever they thought fit to hold it. An emotional atmosphere prevailed during the whole Negrito prayer. An intense expression of awe and reverence was clearly to be seen in the faces and in the gesture of all participants. They crossed their arms on their breast, looked upwards and showed in their whole behavior that they were convinced of holding communication with the supernatural; no one present at this ceremony could have any reasonable doubt about that. (1925:440-442)

Other researchers have noted the connection between prayer and religious ceremony and the economic activities of providing food. This is a general feature of religious beliefs amongst subsistence tribes and the Negritos are no exception to the rule. In one observation Stewart reports:

A Negrito ceremony of some sort was connected with the gathering and preparation of almost every type of food. Before and after the pig hunt, the men did a pig dance. The night before the women went out to look for shellfish, they performed a dance which was half apology to the fish and half a charm to insure the catch. Similarly, the men held a bee dance before and after the expeditions for honey. (1954:63)

It is important to note that the above results are based on the assumption that the data are stationary. If the data are non-stationary, the results may be biased. Therefore, it is important to test for stationarity before using the above methods.

factor of either such as the birth of a child, the wedding, death or harvest ceremony, December or January. The primary reason for this is the abundance of food, for a ceremony will attract large numbers of Pygmies with healthy appetites and will last as long as the hosts can provide food.

(Decon also observed the Negrito ceremony of thanksgiving for an abundance of food with the:

Inolokan and kabobongan ceremony — thanksgiving ceremony held once a year in December during the full moon and celebrated with elaborate preparations involving the whole settlement. (1965:435)

In the Bais Forest Preserve in Negros, Oracion recorded a series of ceremonial rituals which encompass various activities but mainly in the context of sickness and

1. for house construction — the owner performs a ceremony before he begins to build his hut.
2. training of a hunting dog — *hangot*.
3. *delot* — performed for a person who has just recovered from sickness.

4. *pasaka* — performed when one member of the family of a dead *manambal* (medicine man) is sick. There is a belief that the dead *manambal* has caused the sickness of the member and the only cure is for one of the members of the family to follow the father's trade.
5. *luya-luya* — when a child gets fever, the roots of the ginger are obtained immediately.
6. *lolid* — performed when sickness occurs due to stepping on a *lolid* (invisible being who has a human form but could neither sit nor stand but simply rolls on the ground).
7. *panolay* — drive away evil spirit from insane person. It is believed that the *panolay* has taken possession of his body and mind.
8. *solondon* — resorted to when a father dies of drowning so that the male children will not meet the same fate.
9. *sakayan* — a ceremony when an epidemic of cholera, dysentery or influenza afflicts adjoining area (prevention from contamination).
10. ceremony to determine the place where the person got the sickness. (Ibid: 421-435)

Although Negritos never resort to human sacrifice they do sometimes appease the gods by self-inflicted injuries. Stewart observed this amongst a group in Zambales when in a thunder and lightning storm ritual bloodletting was utilized in an attempt to pacify the god of thunder.

One of the Negritos near me leaped into the air with a scream that penetrated the wall of sound thrown up by the typhoon. In his right hand he clasped his jungle knife the sharp edge gleaming in the lightning almost directly above me. "It is enough, Old Man," the Negrito roared in a voice which was huge for his small figure. "I admit my guilt. I have blasphemed your name by saying 'Bee' when I was angry. I have insulted your earthworms and laughed at your monkeys. I am sorry for my sins. Please accept my sacrifice." The knife described an arc above me as he bent over, and found its way to the inner surface of his own thigh, cutting a gash in the skin. He caught the blood in his cupped hands. Some drops splattered upon me as he leaped to the edge of the clift. Illuminated there in the flares of lightning, leaning hard against the wind, he threw his hands skyward. The rain washed the blood from his hands and arms, and from the wound in his thigh. Before the storm subsided, I saw others make the blood sacrifice to the angry god of thunder. (1954:117-118)

E. Shamanism and Magic

There is again considerable debate as to amount and the form of the practice of magic amongst the Negritos. It is possible that it was once widespread but with ever increasing contact with Christian Filipinos the power of magic as a means of

controlling the unknown has diminished. Vanoverbergh is almost ecstatic at what he claims to be the lack of magic and superstition:

When one has been living for a long time among the Malays, who are replete with superstitions, Christians in only a lesser degree than pagans, one cannot help being struck with astonishment at the almost total lack of superstitions and magic among the Negritos. One feels like breathing a different kind of air, as soon as one enters an atmosphere that is decidedly Negrito; this is true of all the Negritos I met, in whatever place they were located, whether in Cagayan or at Casiguran, whether at Baler or in the province of Rizal. (1938: 157-158)

Garvan also suggested a minimum of paraphernalia connected with superstition and magic:

In religion they lack sacrifices, idols, religious charms and fetishes. Even charms are not found as frequently as among forest and mountain tribes nor are sacred places except in a few places such as Zambales where an odd rock or cave would be looked upon as inhabited by one spirit or another. (1963:211)

More recent accounts of Negrito life do not always bear out what Garvan and Vanoverbergh claim to be the norm. A number of researchers have suggested that magic is quite widespread and is resorted to

for various different inexplicable phenomena. Cadelisña suggests magic which enforces taboos is fairly prevalent:

There is a considerable amount of magic beliefs, some of which may partake of the nature of taboo. To mention a few examples: during menstruation a woman must abstain from certain activities such as planting or mat weaving. It is also believed that at such a time, she must be careful not to accept betel nuts (prepared in the usual way) from any male because lumay (love potion) might have been placed in it. It is believed that lumay is especially effective during this period. (1974: 50)

Rahmann and Maceda describe a quaint magical ritual.

They are afraid of darkness that goes with an eclipse and that they may die of hunger. According to one informant, they keep shouting during an eclipse in order that the serpent (sawa) which has swallowed the sun may disgorge it. (1958:875)

The near universality of the incest taboo finds no exception amongst the Negrito people and they do fear it and believe that those who indulge in incest amongst other things, can be punished by being struck by lightning or being burned alive. To prevent this they resort to certain magical practices which have been documented by Rahmann and Maceda:

The belief that incest, getting near the in-laws (of the opposite sex), laughing at copulating animals (dogs), making certain animals (cat and dog, snail and frog) fight is punished by lightning, can be said to be strong and universal among the Ata of northern Negros. Being struck by lightning may result either simply in death, or in petrification (ballew) or consumption by fire. Masinadya remembered that during a thunderstorm his parents would throw a citrus fruit into the fire. This was supposed to stop the tempest. According to Sayong the Ata pour out vinegar in order to stop a thunderstorm. If it becomes worse, they cut off the neck of a chicken, and its blood and carcass are thrown into the yard. (1955:830-831)

In preliterate contexts the use of magic or superstitious ritual is almost universal where economic activity is concerned. The uncertainty of food supplies or of food production is the principal reason why many simple people will resort to invoking magic or religious ritual to ensure adequacy of food. Cadelisña observed such practices but interestingly highlights the semi-scientific or emergent scientific reasoning with the example of cassava:

It is assumed that an inherent metaphysical connection between what an individual does during the outset of the planting season or during a specific growth stage of crops and the outcome or result of one's farm work exist, an idea bordering on magic.

*The activity connected with this assumption can be subsumed under what we might call a ritual but appears to be significantly less ritualistic in magnitude. They call it **lhl** and **sumpa**.*

***Lhl** is intended to produce the desired result while **sumpa** is intended to inhibit or stop the progression of any undesirable situation that might be detrimental to crop production. The process involves minimum invitation of spirit participation but rather it consists of the use of objects or goods which possess the desired qualities. For instance, if cassava is desired to have a sugary taste, sugar is planted with the first hill of cassava. (1977:84, 89)*

Shamans or medicine men do exist but what they practice can vary quite widely. What one can say with certainty is that their principal function concerns the sick. All the research that has been carried out hitherto has emphasized this function. In the chapter on sickness and disease it was stressed that the shaman would be expected to have knowledge of medicinal plants and would be expected to diagnose what was wrong and what should be prescribed. The following accounts stress the medical aspect of the work of the shaman but also point out how he claims to derive his power which is invariably connected with the phenomena of dreams. Garvan first noted this point, among others, when describing the role and work of the various shamans:

*As a very general rule I found that in remote regions away from Filipino contact there were no ministers of religion, but in regions bordering on those of rural Filipino peasants or of mountain tribes there are to be found here and there one individual out of so many groups or dozens of groups who would be looked upon as having influence with the other world. Such individuals went under various names such as **balyan**, **anituan**, **puyang**, **huhak**, **katalunan**, **pauang**, **diuwatan**, **bodian**.*

The little ceremonies which these occasional priests perform vary from individual to individual in every respect. Nearly always they claim to have learned their methods from dreams or from sudden inspirations which they had received at one time or another and just like the generality of Pygmies these occasional priests called their tutelary dead only when something went wrong or was in danger of going wrong. These priests are called upon as a general rule to use their supposed powers for the benefit of the sick. (1963:218)

Stewart also explains the influence of dreams on the shaman and also on the selection of a possible shaman. He also explains the psychology of the trance as practiced by the shaman on a patient:

Everywhere the dreams of the shamans and aspiring shamans proved more complicated than those of other people. They had features in them which

were not found in the dreams of children and adults who had not received shamanistic treatment. This indicated strongly that a deep personality reorganization took place as the patient worked with the shaman in the agreement trance, and that this type of relationship with the shaman encouraged, strengthened, and directed the natural inner will to health, so that even while the patient was asleep it went on working toward the health of the individual and reorganizing inner patterns. (1954:115)

Headland emphasizes that it is white magic, i.e. healing magic that is predominantly practiced by the shaman:

These are practitioners of white magic, their primary role being that of treating the sick. Besides making use of herbs and simple prayers to the "forest", they perform seances for difficult cases. At such times, the shaman goes into a trance and chants. These chants are not in the normal language, but in some type of glossolalia. (1975: 253)

Among the Mamanua the shaman is called the *sukdon* and he serves explicitly as a mediator between the natural world and that of the spirits. Rahmann and Maceda in describing the *sukdon* also point out that women may fulfill this role.

. . . the functions of a medicine man and that of a spirit medium may be

combined in one person. The Mamanua allow a woman to become a shaman, but she never plays the leading role in the prayer-ceremonies; she merely assists the male shaman. There are several ways of becoming a shaman. Among the Mamanua a person who is liable to suffer from tremblings and paroxysms is considered to be a future shaman. Amongst the Mamanua the shaman falls into a trance.

The Mamanua spirit medium may prepare for his profession by undergoing a training from a well-known spirit medium. The prayer-ceremony of the Mamanua is led by a full-fledged male shaman, who is usually assisted by lesser mediums (sometimes a woman shaman.) (1975:99-101, 109, 112)

Finally, Garvan points out that the profession of shaman carries no inbuilt security of tenure; failure to provide a successful outcome can result in the removal of the shaman from the position:

These priests are called upon as a general rule to use their supposed powers for the benefit of the sick. For instance in Tayabas I saw a female priest dance around a sick person and flap him with her handkerchief. She called upon the sickness to be gone. Her dancing lasted for something like half an hour. Incidentally the sick man died and I heard afterwards that she had lost her power. (1963:219)

CHAPTER TWELVE

PSYCHOLOGY AND PERSONALITY



A. Psychotherapy

Dreams constitute a complex part of the psyche of the Negrito. In the previous chapter the power of dreams in directing shamanism was demonstrated. Negritos do in fact worry about the disturbing of their dreams and take steps of a psychotherapeutic nature to prevent this occurrence. Invasion of the dream or the conscience is generally by living elements present in the physical environment. Stewart gives a lengthy account of the psychotherapy involved in placating the bee and also other living things which exist in the Negrito's immediate environment. In a sense what Stewart is describing is the Negrito attempt to produce a state of equilibrium between man and environment:

One old shaman went into a trance, and the grandfather of all bees spoke through him, with a song which Juan said he had received in a dream. The

bee said proudly that he was a great doctor, that he cured more than hunger — he had cured the shaman's cuts and burns with his honey, he had cured the sores and cuts of others through the shaman, and he had cured the shaman's swollen aching joint with the venom from his stings.

By permitting this expression of the bee's attitudes and by thanking the bee in the ceremony, the Negrito apparently took care of the image of the bee so it would not molest him in his dreams or oppress his conscience. However, the image of members of the social group and of animals were not the only ones which had to remain balanced in the mind of the Negrito. The trees which gave up their poison for his arrows, their fruit for his diet, and their bark for his clothing required similar ceremonies, so did the rivers which furnished him fish, the

rocks which held him up as he walked, or which blocked his way, and the earth, which furnished him with roots, grubs, and tubers. Even the shrubs and tiny insects which were disturbed as the Negritos spat upon the ground or urinated were warned of the coming disturbance in their universe, and given an expression of appreciation for accepting what has become a burden to the Negrito. (1954:64-65)

Stewart also attempted to demonstrate how physical pain could be treated by the use of psychotherapy. In a very psychologically oriented passage he fits theories of neurosis derived from the west into a Negrito psycho-physical context. It is not important that the Negrito understand the concept of neurosis but rather that the physical factors which have influenced the personality of the patient be transformed into something which is not only comforting to the patient but is more acceptable to the entire group. Stewart's claims are somewhat astounding but are, nevertheless, worth recounting to indicate a very sophisticated form of faith healing:

The Negrito therapists were helping the patient to contact patterns and incidents from a long forgotten past, feelings, emotions, latent desires, the early formation of the personality and experiences which made up the person. He then, in their hands, was transformed into a new person, a person who was not the same as the person who had been brought to them. The therapists were helping him to contact the patterns and incidents from a long forgotten past, feelings, emotions, latent desires, the early formation of the personality and experiences which made up the person. He then, in their hands, was transformed into a new person, a person who was not the same as the person who had been brought to them.

Negrito healing, which was entirely new to me and which was even more exciting than the idea that the patient must go through the painful event once he had contacted it. The Negrito shaman directed the patient to bring back from the trance state a creative product in the form of music, rhythm, posture and words. He was asked to stay in the painful event until some indwelling force, which the shamans called spirit, supplied music for the words he heard from the spirit cave, put the words into some sort of meter like a poem, and attached this music and meter to a series of motor sets, muscular actions and postures, which we called dance..

In the West the theory had been adopted that neurosis blocked off man's creativeness. This Negrito healing ceremony seems a direct support of that theory, and these Negrito healers were not leaving things to change.

They were requesting that the area of the personality which had formerly expressed itself as contact rage and integrate himself into change that into music, poetry and dancing in the end as it were. In the healing ceremony that they were requesting that he subject transform the pain into that which was a very important and beautiful. The last thing I remember that the patient, who was very young, said that he requested. Now, he was expressing the new personality and was a person who was not the same as the person who had been brought to them.

force or spirit, there was no danger that his new area of the personality, which he had conquered with the help of the ceremony would slip back into limbo at the sub-conscious and change itself again into pain after the ceremony was completed.

Nowhere in the civilized world was this creativeness in sleep and in the half-sleep trance encouraged and guided through social cooperation to the same extent as among these preliterate Negritos. Here it was an accepted idea that every member of the group should see and understand the practice of psychotherapy from infancy, and that every member of the group was eligible to become a psychotherapist without any specialized training, except what he received himself through psychotherapy. The very forces that made him sick should become a will, an urge, a drive to heal others. Here healing was regarded not as a guild or priestcraft or secret knowledge, but as the social heritage of all who had suffered illness and received treatment. (Ibid: 46-47)

B. Personality, Property and Nomadism

Illness, almost certainly psychosomatic in nature, is often the result of a Negrito being forced to leave his homeland. Rice explained this phenomenon in the more general context of territorial rights:

The Negrito considers that he belongs

to a specific limited territory. If required to leave his territory, one or more of his family members will usually become ill and recovery will not take place until they are able to return. Within their rather extensive territory, however, a move of 15 or more kilometers is not considered to be a change of residence. His sense of territory is not exclusive, however, and he recognizes the rights of other people within that same territory. It may be said that the Negrito belongs to the land rather than the land belonging to him. (1973:3)

The same author with his associate Tima, reinforced the Negrito concept of territorial rights and again stressed the possibility of sickness should one of the group be forced to leave his locality:

Individual Negritos have often reported that when they were forced to leave their own territories to live in other areas they become ill and unable to work until they returned to their own territory again. The Negrito concept of territory is not inclusive, however, and several families may occupy identical or overlapping territories without conflict or dispute. The Negrito probably does have inclusive rights over small portions of land which are related to his familiar spirit. The sense of territorial affection is not limited to the location of the house but to the entire territory including forests, streams, rivers and plateaus. (1973: 15-17)

This phenomenon of psychosomatic illness due to being forced to leave one's home was also put into an historical context by Stewart:

Long ago the slave traders had learned that these isolated nomads were so closely attached to their land that they would sicken and die if they were taken away from it, and therefore were of little use as slaves. (1954:30)

If there is any valid basis for the preceding short account, it would certainly lend empirical strength to what Rice and Tima found in their observations of the Negritos in Luzon. It is of further interest that other cultural groups embrace the concept known as homesickness without attributing to it any physical manifestation of the condition. It is entirely possible, if not probable, that in the case where the attachment to one's home or territory is completely binding, sickness of a fairly serious nature may be the result of being removed from it.

Although the Negritos do not, *qua* individual, recognize land as exclusive property, they do, in fact, recognize individual ownership of things. This would include not only the things they have made such as their bows and arrows but also the natural products of the environment which one individual may have happened to discover. Vanoverbergh gives a good illustration of this right when he observed one of the group finding a source of the much coveted honey:

Whatever he possesses in or around his house is considered his own property, and belongs exclusively to him and his family; nobody is allowed to take anything from it without his permission. The trees he plants will remain his property, although he may be away from them a long time. An abandoned house remains the property of the one who built it, and, as long as it stands, he has a right to make it his abode again, to the exclusion of all others.

There is no question, of course, of strict delimitation of property in the forests of the Negritos; still, a certain group of families will always remain in the same portion of the great tropical forest, and although they lead the life of nomads, they seldom wander beyond this particular region.

The forest and river and whatever they contain belong to the group of families that roam in or around them, but even here we find a certain idea of property. When Allapa guided us to Aginagay, he was able to locate a hive of bees on one of the trees; he directly cleared the spot at the foot of the tree from herbs and bushes, and in this way asserted ownership. Woe to the Negrito who would take the honey of these bees, a thrashing would be the sure punishment of his misconduct, as was assured me by the councilman at Futtul. (1925:430-431)

As in other spheres of Negrito life, there is now change taking place with respect to the titling of lands. It has not yet reached the stage where individual ownership is asserted but with the pressure on land from migrant lowlanders and the disappearance of the forests, the Negrito is being forced to change his attitude to land tenure. Maceda's research illustrates the emergence of knowledge of legal titles:

The idea of land ownership is gradually evolving among the Negritos; force of circumstances, if nothing else, is pushing them in that direction. However, at this early stage, land ownership is familial rather than individual. The acquisition of land may take place in one of several ways. What might be called "original" acquisition, by clearing a piece of land in forest. Second-hand acquisition which occurs in most of the ways employed whenever land passes into other hands: by inheritance, as part of a bride price, through barter and lately perhaps even by outright purchase. While the majority of Negritos have so far hardly heard about the necessity of acquiring legal titles to their plots, some of them, notably the Mamanua living in the Lake Mainit (Agusan) region, as mentioned above, have managed, with the help of lowland friends or government agencies to acquire legal titles. When a Negrito dies, any property he may possess at the time of his death goes to his wife and children.

The division is usually referred to the elders of the settlement. There are to my knowledge no other inheritance regulations. (1974:7-8)

The nomadic existence of hunting and gathering bands is almost universally recognized to be the result of simple economic necessity. When the supply of game or seasonal fruits runs out in one area the band will automatically move to another. Gloria's report on the Negritos of central Panay bears out this general rule. Informants told him:

It is not that we are discontented in one place. But if we stay more than two years (for harvest) in one place, the game diminishes and we have to look for new hunting grounds. Besides if we stay too long in any one place the people nearby tire of us, and we do not want to be a nuisance to anybody, especially to the Visayans. If game abounds and if the people do not bother us, we may stay longer than two years in a place. The group of Ates in Sibalom (province of Antique, Panay) which is four times the size of ours have not so moved. (1939:95)

While as a general rule the availability of food will always be an eventual determinant in Negrito mobility, some research has shown that the position is not quite so simple. There appears to be a variety of psychological reasons why a group may move from one area to another. These reasons negate any crude environmental

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sort of an attitude, a desire to move
and keep moving. This traditional
feeling appears in their few songs and
in their traditional dances, which
are performed in a very simple
manner, and in their traditional
dances, which are performed in a
very simple manner.

to expressed as a general attitude their
dislike for really permanent settlements.
Certainly, their continual movement
is not only, or even primarily, a re-

Rather, many social forces, in addi-

produced the semi-sedentary habitus of
the Pinatubo pygmies. This persistent
mobility markedly distinguishes the
Pinatubo Negritos from the settled
lowlanders. (1953:186)

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found in the mountains of the
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C. Personality and Social Values

Rice and Tuma have taken pains to list
the values which are most characteristic
of the Negrito people:

The Negritos have impressed others
by their characteristics and values
such as generosity, tactfulness, hospi-
tality, honesty, politeness, peacefulness,
jollity, love of fun and their ability to

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tality, honesty, politeness, peacefulness,
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Vanoverbergh also noted the singular honesty with which the Negrito people treat each other and outsiders:

I am not able to quote a single instance in which a Negrito willfully told me an untruth. If he ever did so, it was either out of ignorance, or in order to give me an answer which he supposed would be pleasing to me. The fact that we left our belongings for several days where every passing Negrito could have taken from them whatever he liked, is a sufficient proof of his honesty. (1925:432)

Rice and Tima singled out the value of honesty and reported also the almost total lack of crime in the Negrito culture:

The fact that the society has high standards of honesty is a demonstration of the fact that the conscience is well-developed and the value acceptable to the larger Philippine society. The Negrito's word is his bond, and he will do whatever he has promised. Research into the techniques by which they settle disputes was impossible to accomplish due to the fact that disputes are nearly non-existent. Theft, fights, violence and other crimes against persons or property seldom occur and even wife-stealing which does occasionally occur, is not frequent. The Negrito is faithful in paying his debts, and a Kaxayan assured me that he never hesitated to give the Negritos what they asked for, if they promised to pay him later. (1973:20)

A major characteristic of the Negrito people is their happy and joyous approach to life. Perhaps this is not surprising in a society where honesty plays such a prominent role and crime is virtually unknown. Most anthropologists who have lived with, and written about, the Negritos have been impressed with their joviality: this too in an environment which can be as harsh as any that exists. The happiness and joy in their daily lives derives in no small part from the politeness and hospitality which exudes from these people. Bennagen illustrates these characteristics with this account:

A Negrito is always happy, he laughs more than he weeps; he is devoted to his friends (and he has no enemies), and is always ready to succor them; he is very polite, and he is hospitable to a remarkable degree. To the Negrito life seems to be a joyous affair, and he does not seem to have any preoccupations at all. To him each day has its own cares, and, if he cannot find today what he is in need of, he expects to find it at some other time, not seeming to care a fig for disappointments of any kind. (1969:7)

Vanoverbergh makes considerable claims for the happy nature of the Negritos and indeed his writings on the subject present a picture of spontaneous hilarity:

The Negritos seem to be the most happy people in the world, I cannot repeat it often enough. Most of the

time they seem to have nothing else to do but to laugh and to play, and this is true not only of the children, but also of the adults, even of great-grandfathers. Negritos also like to run around, be it only from hut to hut, and they never mind the rain. But, if they can do it on a larger scale, so much the better, for instance when there is a horse to be caught or when a carabao has escaped his guardian; on such occasions the whole settlement is in a turmoil. But they are rarely in a hurry when travelling, they stop at every moment, and never think about the difficulty a stranger would be in, if he were overtaken by the night on an unknown path in the forest. (1938:120)

Meekness is also a quality which is noticeable amongst the Negrito groups. Even when intoxicated and seemingly on the verge of setting about each other, it is often no more than an occasion of high spirits. Vanoverbergh who watched one of these sessions writes:

In general, Negritos are very meek, and even when they have been a little too free with their potations, an exuberance of jollity rather than a drunken brawl is the usual result. Very often though one might be misled by their boisterousness, especially in the case of women; their altercations are mostly a mere contest for the highest pitch of voice, and after they have indulged in a few moments of shrieking and clamoring, which an outsider

might be inclined to ascribe to the existence of a terrific quarrel, they end with a good laugh, as if to show tremendously they appreciated the performance. (1925:123)

Their meekness, certainly in former days, would frequently take the form of timidity or even fear as Vanoverbergh observed:

As soon as they see a person of another race, they immediately go into the bushes and will not come out again until they are sure that the person in question is far away and all danger is passed. Nevertheless, a Negrito may become courageous and face danger without blanching, for instance, when he has to defend his dear ones, or a friend of his, or even an ordinary acquaintance by whom he has been kindly treated. (Ibid:192)

D. Personality and Sexual Behaviour

The Negritos, although often clad in a minimum of clothing, have almost puritanical values regarding sexual behaviour. Great care is taken not to exhibit themselves in a situation of undress and the severity with which they observe sexual modesty is sometimes carried to great lengths. Consider this account by Garvan:

Though sexual matters are discussed as freely and as frequently as other natural operations, there is no pruriency. I never noticed any immodest horseplay. Modesty in look and in action is a characteristic of both men

and women. In Camarines a father forbade his son, with his newly wed wife, to cohabit on the first night, because of my presence. If sexual matters are mentioned in the presence of women, the latter express a feeling of bashfulness by bowing or averting the head. (1963:81)

Vanoverbergh takes a somewhat morally indignant stance in his own observations but having compared the Negritos with other people decides in their favour regarding moral purity:

Children see and notice many things they should know nothing about at their age, as all of them dress most scantily and sleep crowded together in a very small place. This must needs have deleterious influence on the morals of the young people, and it is really to be wondered at that our Negritos remain as decent as they are. I believe, however, that they compare very favorably with the members of other tribes, and I am firmly convinced that I am right when I say that the Negrito in general is morally pure. (1925:425)

The men do not exhibit any different features than the women regarding sexual matters and indeed according to Headland if anything, are more timid about being seen in a situation of sexual embarrassment:

Men, even more than women, are very careful, even in front of their own sex, to avoid exposing their genitalia. When undressing to bathe or

to cross a river, they always keep one or both hands cupped over the genital area. Women keep themselves well covered with a blanket during childbirth; and not even the women assisting in a birth look under the blanket. (1975:248)

Headland, on the subject of sexual deviance, claims that:

There is little to report in this regard. In our experience we know of no case of rape. Homosexuality is completely unknown. We know of no case of premarital sex among the Dumagats. We have never known of a young single girl to have an illegitimate child. There are some extra-marital sexual liaisons, but this is not frequent, except among widows and widowers. (Ibid:252)

Garvan also comments on the low frequency of sexual deviance:

Polygamy and fornication are unknown. One case of rape was reported to me. The raptor was killed by the maiden's father and a subsequent storm (baguio) attributed to the crime, made the whole group flee into the mountains of Camarines. (1963:93)

B. Perception of Time and Space

Garvan gives a long but excellent description of the Negrito's organization of his world in terms of time, space and measurement:

He divides time into day and night, morning, midday, afternoon and evening. The morning he divides into dawn and sunrise; the afternoon into sunset and twilight. The intervening time he indicates by pointing at that part of the sky where the sun is, was or will be, according to the nature of the point under conversation. The same method is adopted for indicating the time of night during the light of the moon. The different phases of the moon have names and serve as natural divisions of time when the moon is visible, as also to distinguish month from month at least for two or three preceding or following moons. Any period before or after those few moons will be described as "a long time ago" or "a long time to come". Hence it is that I never met a Pygmy of the hinterland who had the least idea of his age or even a word for age.

The time of the year is divided into the wet and dry seasons, and more specifically, into parts which correspond to the stages of the bee's life. In old regions the harvesting and planting seasons of Filipinos or of other neighboring peoples form a division of the Pygmy year; for at such periods our little people manage to secure a certain amount of paddy. In eastern Zambales, I thought I had found a regular calendar of months; moons, each one of which had its name and exactly thirteen in number, but after no little investigation of

the meanings of the names of the moons, I found that the whole thing was based on the flowerings of trees, the swarming of bees, change of monsoon, planting and harvesting of lowland rice, mating of birds and mating of deer, with one christian month thrown in to fill up a lacuna.

For ordinary linear measurements the length of both arms, the natural yard, the cubit, the span from thumb tip to finger tip, the palm or breadth of the hand, the finger-width, the pace and the foot-length are known, named and used if dealings with outsiders have habituated our little people to the use of such measures. But be it said that for the most part the amount of jungle products to be delivered is contracted for in terms of the volume, girth, length or breadth of natural objects which are within view of the contracting parties.

When our little people desire to indicate the size of objects, such as trees and what not else they compare them to some part of the human body. Thus, a thing may be as big as such and such one's waist or thing or lower arm or wrist or finger. Or again, it may be compared to some object present or to some well-known object such as a full-grown bamboo. Spherical objects are referred to as being as big as one's head, as big as one's fist or as big as some fruit.

When these little folk wish to tell you how distant a place is, they speak

Dumagat father and child with their lean-to shelter which is being carried to another settlement place.
(Photo by ASI COMMUNICATIONS)





Above: A whole Dumagat family
in search of a place to
temporarily settle in.

Right: The Dumagat family has
located a temporary place to
set up their shelters.

(Photos by
ASI COMMUNICATIONS)



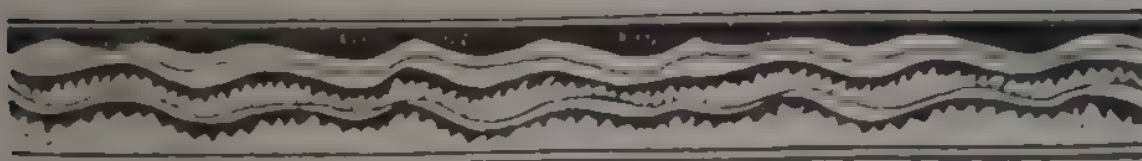
of it as being half a day or a whole day away as the case may be. And if you wish to know how many hours it will take to reach the point of your destination, your respondent will point with his arm outspread to a certain part of the heavens to indicate that you will arrive at about the time the sun will be at that height, irrespective of the fact that it may be a very lowering day. If all goes well on your trip you will find that your little informer had given pretty nearly the right slant to his arm. In similar wise he will indicate to you the time of moonrise by an appropriate sweep of his arms to indicate the would be altitude of the sun at the peep of the moon.

Short distances are indicated in various ways. Thus your informer may tell you that the quarry ran two bow-draughts beating i.e., the distance at which the resonations from those ob-

jects can be heard. At times and in places you may be told that it is one cigarette or one rice cooking to such and such a place, the meaning being that your trip would last as it would take to make a cigarette or to cook a pot of rice — all of which go to show that our little people have full conceptions of time and space as well as measurements the same that are good for all practical purposes and not too rigid to tax attention or to force the fullest freedom out of life. It is only in numbers that our little people fall behind but I am sure that if a Pygmy had eleven arrows and then received seventeen more you could not take one away without his knowing because, though he may not be able to tell in words how many he has, he has a mental image of the whole aggregate of these twenty-eight arrows and can sense the loss of one quickly. (1963:196-198)

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

INTELLIGENCE



The majority of available literature written by social scientists and researchers praise the intelligence of the Negritos as well as their keen interest in wanting to know more about phenomena new to them.

Vanoverbergh, in two separate articles on the Northern Luzon Negritos expounds on the preceding statements:

That the Negritos are endowed with a bright and keen intellect has been experienced by myself and testified to me by others. One may be assured that the Negrito is far from being on the lowest step in the ladder of intellectuality. His piercing eyes alone and the alertness of his movements seem to indicate the power of his intellect, and, if in some instances he may seem to be of a rather crass ignorance, it should be attributed to lack

of practice rather than to dullness. The attainment of the Negrito children at school suggest that, if he had the opportunities many other people have, and especially if he found it useful and opportune to devote his time to study, he would be able to attain higher culture. The use he makes of the few means at his disposal prove satisfactorily that he is far from being devoid of this chief distinction between man and animals, reason. In fact, very little will escape his observation, and he is fond of inquiring into things that come to his notice and which he does not understand. (1925:416-417)

The Negritos generally take a lively interest in whatever they do not understand, asking questions and expla-

nations, and wanting to enter deeper into the subject. When we were going by canoe from Amattalan to Kasikallan, the children of Asinol and those of Malahia, a whole group of boys, were constantly busy pointing at flowers and birds, asking questions, uttering exclamations of wonder and delight, in short, proving to the satisfaction of any unbiased observer that their intellect, though possibly still little developed, was far from dormant, and that they only waited for better opportunities in order to be able to compete with their more favored brethren of the human race. (1930:897)

In the relationship between perception of environment and intelligence the Negrito is unsurpassed in his knowledge of the world that surrounds him. Fox went to great lengths to provide proof, a task which even the most perceptive of modern biologists would find considerably exacting and extremely difficult:

Another characteristic of Negrito life, a characteristic which strikingly demarcates them from the surrounding Christian lowlanders, is their inexhaustible knowledge of the plant and animal kingdom. This also includes not only a specific recognition of phenomenal number of plants, birds, animals, and insects, but also includes a knowledge of the habits and behavior of each. This inclusive knowledge of nature is, of course,

a product of their way of life; continual hunting, mobility, dependency upon vegetation, as well as a survival of their historical associations. In addition, the intimate familiarity of the Negrito with nature is the result of a thorough and sensitive ecological awareness. The acute observation of the Pygmies and their awareness of the interrelationships between the plant and animal life giving them an ecological picture of their environment, is strikingly pointed out by their discussions of the living habits of bats. The tididin lives on the dry leaves of palms, the dikidikon on the underside of the leaves of the wild banana, the litlit in bamboo clumps, the kolumboy in holes in trees, the konanaba in dark thickets, and so forth. In this manner, the Pinatubo Negrito can distinguish the habits of more than 15 species of bats. Most Negrito men can with ease enumerate the specific or descriptive names of at least 340 plants, 75 birds, most of the snakes, fish, insects and animals and of even 20 species of ants. Moreover, each Negrito man can give a description of the colors, habits, foods, calls, etc. of all of the animal, insect and bird life known to him. (1953:187-188)

In the modern world there has never been greater awareness of environmental problems and the preservation of natural resources than exists at the present time

Stewart, whose ethnographic is proques
tioned, are now urging the developed and developing nations to think about the way man has over-utilized the natural resources in the environment in his quest for material comfort and wealth. For the Negritos conservation is a perfectly natural practice and it adds considerably to valuable and scarce resources. Bennagen observed the perfectly natural way in which the Negrito preserves his source of fish:

That fish are present in greater quantity in the area than in areas downstream of comparable population is a tribute to the wisdom of the Agta. We are told that during certain seasons of the year, they refrain from fishing in certain marked-off areas to allow the fish to spawn and the fry to mature unmolested. Even Christians are not allowed to fish in these marked-off areas, although they are welcome during the fishing season. (1969:6-7)

Stewart who conducted psychological intelligence tests on Negrito people was impressed with the results obtained. He was careful to point out, unlike some contemporary psychologists, that intelligence tests are culturally relative and that a low score by a Negrito would probably indicate something which was alien to his culture rather than a lack of ability to solve a problem. It is worth quoting Stewart at length since we know

of no one else who has actually conducted intelligence tests among Negrito groups:

The test responses of the very young children soon convinced me that the original endowment of the Negritos was not measurably different from that of other racial groups. By all my yardsticks, the children came up to the specifications which would entitle them to be considered equal to other children in the sight of God and the law. The adult scores of the Goodenough Test were lower than the adolescent scores. This drop reflected the fact that their culture educated them against drawing the kind of man image which would make a good score on the test. Their scores on the Metal Maze went on climbing, and showed no inferiority to the adult scores I had obtained in my clinic at Waikiki Beach. In this test the Negritos did not have to remember instructions or act as though the paperworld were the real three-dimensional world. In the Metal Maze they only had to remember where they had been and to keep trying new trails until they found their way out.

The adults would do this better than the children or the adolescents, which indicated that their mental capacity to deal with concrete things did not stop growing, and that the poor scores on the other tests

were the result of experience or education which locked up, rather than developed, their capacity to do abstract, reflective thinking. (1954:62)

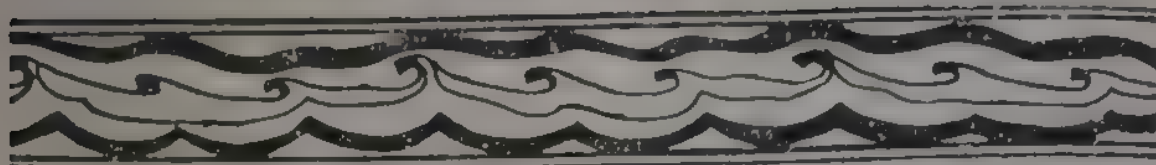
In the context of Negrito intelligence, Garvan makes the exceedingly interesting point about their linguistic ability. The speed with which they could master a new language is evidence, claims Garvan, of a high degree of intelligence:

Another and very noteworthy mark of our little people's mentality is their singular facility to learn outside languages. This they do very rapidly, say a few months, and so thoroughly as far as opportunity allows them that they are in fluency and cor-

rectness with the people from whom they learn. This was admitted by Filipinos and other neighboring peoples. It thus comes to pass that where our little people have had sufficient dealings with two or more peoples of different languages, they learn very well both in copiousness of vocabulary, correctness of grammar and faultlessness of pronunciation, the languages of these peoples. Thus, in the regions bordering on the provinces of Tayabas and Camarines, the little people know how to speak both Tagalog and Bicol plus a language of their own which was all the more compounded the nearer the group lived to the Tagalog, or to the Bicol, settlements. (1963:200)

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

LANGUAGE



It is rare for a language to disappear completely but that seems to be the case with the original Negrito tongue. Even in the case of ethnic groups having had so much contact with their lowland neighbours that they assume their neighbours' languages, elements of the original usually survive. One might at least expect that in the case of hunting and gathering bands, words which describe the natural phenomena of the environment in which they live would survive. The Negritos, unfortunately, seem to have been totally submerged in the various dialects of the Filipinos with whom they have had most contact. In the opening chapter Kroeber suggested that Philippine Negritos might have, at one time, spoken the same language of the indigenous Andamanese. Other researchers claim they would have had an original language but do not pos-

tulate what it might have been. What they are all agreed upon is its disappearance. Kreiger states:

The original language, as well as the entire culture complex of the Negritos, remain and probably will continue to remain unknown. In every instance where the Negrito language and culture have been expertly examined, it has been clearly established that both were borrowed from neighboring Filipino groups. (1942:43-44)

Vanoverbergh also agrees with Kreiger on the linguistic diffusion of Filipino dialects to Negrito groups:

I think I shall have to agree, at least partially, with the statement made by most scientists and travellers, who have written about the Negritos, that is, that they lost their original lan-

... and took over the dialect of the people in whose immediate neighborhood they were living.
(1925:417)

Rahmann and Maceda go further and claim that some members of the group did remember the fact of existence of a language, but no demonstration was possible:

The Ata of northern Negros now speak the language of their Christian neighbours. In the past they spoke a language of their own, whatever that language may have been. Some Ata remembered more or less clearly the existence of this language.
(1955:817-818)

Their skill in picking up language is further attested to in the research of Headland. Quoting a linguistic study carried out amongst the Negritos of Luzon he reports:

The Summer Institute of Linguistics has recently completed a dialect intelligibility survey of an area of eastern Luzon. One of the purposes of the survey was to find out how well the Casiguran Dumagats understand the six dialects and trade languages spoken in northern Quezon and eastern Isabela. The findings of the survey were that the Casiguran Dumagats scored well on the four dialects closely related to their own, but they scored below the threshold of intelligibility in their understanding of Tagalog and Ilocano. (1975:255)

Baumgartner, in a recent study, gives some clues to the disappearance of the original language or languages. The length of contact with lowland Malays has over the years caused the original tongue to disappear. It must be remembered that an approximate date for the arrival of the first proto-Malays is 1500 B. C. and it can be assumed that the Negritos have had contact with these groups since that time. Baumgartner states:

One of the many unanswered questions concerning the oldest group among the now living native inhabitants of the Philippines, the Negritos, concerns their original language or languages. As this wording of the question indicates, at the moment it is not even possible to say whether they ever spoke one single language (possibly in several dialects) or whether even in those long ago times when they were in all likelihood the only inhabitants of these islands they spoke perhaps several different languages.

The only thing that seems to be somewhat original about these forms of Negrito speech is that they may have been borrowed from the neighboring speech communities at a remote time and may thus preserve forms and occasional terms which are no longer found in their parent languages.

As the outstanding Dutch linguist Hendrik Kern was able to show, the majority of the terms had then near correspondences in various Philippine

as *language contact*. If not the
reasoning is that the
Negritos must have exchanged
their own language for that of their
very different neighbors at an early
date, probably as soon as they came
into contact with the Malayan-
speaking immigrants. If this surmise
is correct, it is easy to see how the
knowledge of their own tongue could
so thoroughly vanish from the Neg-
ritos' life that apparently nobody
now remembers it. It would then

seem that there is only a very thin
chance that any remnants of the orig-
inal Negrito tongue(s), not to
mention a Negrito speaker of it, will
yet be found. (1975:283-284)

The most enigmatic account of the pos-
sibility of an indigenous Negrito language
is that of Garvan. The author goes to
considerable lengths to describe the intec-
tion, case, gender and syntactical struc-
ture but at no point gives an example of
a Negrito word.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

AESTHETIC LIFE



The aesthetic dimension of most hunting and gathering bands is highly illustrative of their concern with both real and cosmological aspects of the culture which guides their everyday lives. The Negrito aesthetic pursuit is commensurate with the rich but somewhat constraining economic *modus vivendi* that the environment demands. Headland has recorded this point when stating:

Dumagat folklore reflects the people's values and world view, and gives hints of their past life. For example, there are frequent references to ghosts and spirit beings, raiding and fear of raiders, food gathering (especially of the caryota palm starch), hunting and fishing and courtship. There is almost no reference in the folklore to agriculture. (1975:254)

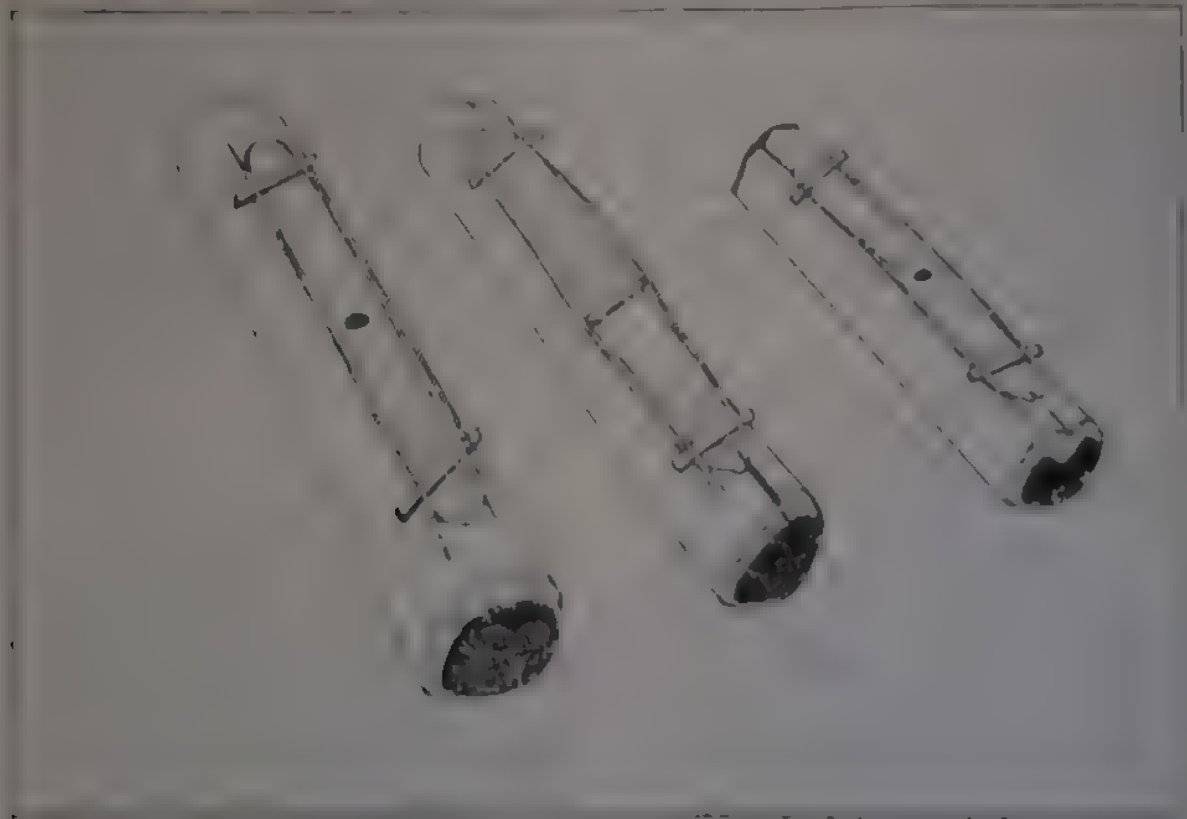
A. Music and Song

If there is any universal factor amongst all Negrito groups it is their love of music and song. From Mindanao to Northern Luzon, the pattern is the same. The construction and playing of instruments is a pursuit amongst all groups. In an extremely early piece of research, Kroeber was somewhat surprised by the sophisticated nature of the musical instruments:

The musical instruments of the Negrito are more developed than might be expected from a people leading so crude a life. At least some of them are imitations of Filipino instruments. There is a simple flute, a little jew's harp of a sliver of split bamboo, occasionally a traded bronze gong, a guitar, and even a crude violin of bamboo. (1919:40)

The *guitars* of the *Isneg* are very
from group to group and all are used
during festive and religious dances.
The *guitars* are made of bamboo and

the *Isneg* have a primitive
guitar quite similar to those manufac-
tured and used by the *Isneg*. This
huritan consisted of one intermode of



Guitars made of bamboo



Two Negrito musicians play with a mouth flute and a jew's harp. (Photo by EUFRACIO C. ABAYA)



A close-up sketch of a mouth flute, (sketched by CHUPSIE MEDINA/NATIONAL MUSEUM ARTIFACTS)



Mamanday execute some dance steps. (Photos by RYLAZO)

bamboo with nodes perforated at both ends. The strings consisted of five small strips of bamboo cut out lengthwise from the main part of the guitar in such a way as to remain attached to it at both ends. Four small pieces of bamboo were pushed under each string and served to tune the instrument; two of these small pieces were placed at both ends of the string. Two strings made from the bark of the **uplig**, served to bind the whole outfit, one at each end, at the same time helping in the regulation of the tune by being shifted up or down. (1929:25)

If Vanoverbergh is unimpressed by the quality of Negrito instruments, he waxes more warmly on the theme of song and reports in considerable detail the various songs he heard and the contexts in which they were performed. In Eastern Luzon he writes:

Singing is common to all Negrito groups. At Ditailin (Bal.), the girls sang love songs in Tagalog, with the accompaniment of a native guitar, usually played by a boy; here was nothing genuinely Negrito. In the district of Casiguran, the boys had their own Negrito songs, which they sang whenever it pleased them, at night or in the daytime, at play or at work; the tune was far from agreeable, but it had nothing to do with the drawling melody of the Igorot

songs nor with the solemn chant used by the Nagan Negritos at their prayer ceremonies. At Adawag (Cagayan) they sang or rather shouted during the prayer which I recorded several times in the north. (1938:134)

In Northern Luzon the same author recorded a courting song, the *aliri*, and it is interesting to note that his informants instructed him that the performance of the *aliri* allowed for the improvisation by boy or girl according to what the other partner had previously used as the lyric:

The aliri is a kind of love song consisting of a series of strophes that should be sung alternately by a boy or girl. But in reality Negrito men and women, whether married or not, sing indifferently the strophes belonging either to the boy or to the girl. They sing them while walking through the forest, while sitting down, whether working or idling, while lying down at night although, in theory, these verses should be sung only at night and protracted until the girl acquiesces to or at least seems impressed by the proposal of the boy. The bulk of these songs seems to consist of more or less fixed texts, but it was assured me by the concessionaire that the Negrito very often uses phrases of his own composition, according to the ideas he wants to express, either independently or as an

... to the song of his partner.
(1925:405)

To emphasize the cultural context of Negrito song, Garvan was perceptive to notice that the meek and peaceful nature of Negrito society was reflected by the lack of certain themes in the formulation of lyrics:

There are no war songs or songs of vengeance as far as my observation held. No songs that a deceased person used to sing are permitted. It would vex the spirit. Mothers croon all kinds of little nursery songs and children improvise songs of their own. Songs from neighbouring tribes are readily learned and sung from time to time with perfect pronunciation and intonation, but our little people prefer their own songs. In singing the tone varies. It may be solemn and melodious, or rapid, or high or low, or soft, according to the sentiment expressed. The singing may be performed in a standing position or the singers may sit in a circle facing each other while those that manipulate the gong or other instruments sit around outside.
(1963:148)

B. Folklore through Dance

Dancing is a frequent pastime amongst nearly all Negrito groups. It may be a scramble or it may be joyous depending on

the reasons for the dance taking place. Garvan demarcates between the two types:

Dancing should be divided into two kinds, festive dancing and ceremonial dancing for the dead. Festive dancing may be held when meeting friends, after a good hunt or when in general the group is feeling extra happy. To give pleasure to visitors there may be extempore dancing at any time, but the few Pygmy dances are held in the evening and at night and may last until dawn. Dances have various names according to the local custom. Thus they are known as undas, lipat, amba and dozens of other forms.

The religious dance is very solemn, more generally held at full moon and lasts into the deep hours of the night. It would require a whole volume to give a description of the various forms of dances that I have witnessed. Suffice it to say that outside of mimic dances, they are performed more for the amusement of children or visitors than for the enjoyment of the Pygmies themselves.
(Ibid:146)

The folk element in dance is the subject of this account by Fox:

The most interesting and amusing of the Negrito's dances, the pinapanilan, is a wild pantomime of the whole act

of hunting and smoking bees. During the course of this tempestuous dance, the hunter watches for the signs of the swarms, follows and finds the hive, prepares the smoking torch, climbs the tree, is attacked by the bees during which they invariably get inside of his loin cloth, and finally retrieves the hive and delights in the taste of the honey. The entire activity is portrayed in perfect pantomime while the dancer follows a violent, pandango guitar tune.

(1953:291)

Although Garvan claimed a lack of violence in Negrito songs, the research by Reed suggests that elements of the macabre can appear in the various folk dances performed by a group. The type of dance may vary from that embracing natural elements such as the potato (*pina camote*), the bee (*pina panlian*) to others involving the torture of a prisoner or a duel between two Negrito warriors. Of the torture dance Reed writes:

When executed at night in the light of a bonfire this dance is most grotesque and terrible. The naked black bodies, gleaming in the fire, the blood-curdling yells, and the demoniacal figures of the howling, leaping dancers, remind one of the Indian war dances. (1904:52)

Vanoverbergh explains that in the areas he researched the dancers had to be skillful due to the cramped space in which they performed:

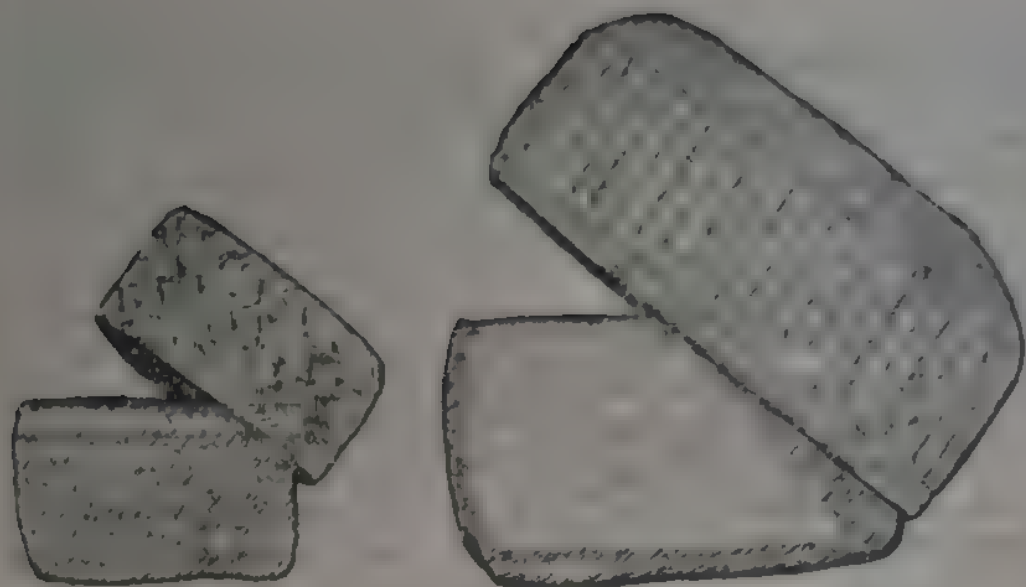
Dancing is never done outside, but always inside their houses, and so it will be clear that the space available is very small; it is so small indeed, on this particular occasion, that I often wondered how they could avoid the feet of the bystanders. Usually a single person danced, and did so only for a minute or two and then stopped, another one taking his place; women and girls joined in as well as men and boys, but less frequently. The dancer took a position with his body nearly erect, but inclined slightly forward, vibrating rapidly during the performance. His arms hung loose along his body, but every often were extended slightly outwards although, just at the beginning, his hands were held along his thighs, behind his body.

(1925:405)

C. Visual Art

Etching is the most commonly reported form of Negrito visual art. They will etch on many of the artifacts that they utilize in their day to day existence. Geometric designs are etched on arrow shafts and also on household utensils as noted by Kreiger:

The cortex or outer surface of combs made of bamboo and of containers used for various household purposes, is decorated with incised angular patterns. These decorative patterns form one of the few pleasing phases of Negrito material culture. (1942:43)



Finely woven receptacles

Besides etching, Negritos manifest skills in weaving and plaiting. The artistry of work can be seen in a variety of household wares such as baskets, hammocks and containers. Moreover, personal ornamentation in the form of armlets among men show that this ethnic group is adept at creating geometric patterns in both simple and complex designs.

In Northern Luzon Vanoverbergh documented the technique by which carving is done on the Negrito bows:

Carving is very often practiced on the shaft of the bows. The surface of the patches that have to be colored black are first scraped with the point of the headax or bolo. The surface of the shaft is then burnished with bees-

wax, at the place of the scratches this beeswax adheres to the scraped surfaces, but is easily removed from the smooth parts between them. After that the beeswax is covered with soot in order to render the carved surfaces black. In most cases the beeswax and soot are applied very imperfectly, while in a few they produce comparatively regular designs of black or white. This crude carving sometimes covers one third or one half of the space between the teeth and arrowhead beginning at the teeth. Sometimes it covers only that part of the shaft to which the teeth are well be applied. (1929:4)

The Negritos, like some many African peoples, indulge in body scarification as

another form of visual art. Unlike Africans they do not scarify the face mainly preferring to decorate the arms, breasts and legs. Garvan has coined the very appropriate term 'decorative disfiguration' to describe this form of art. He also includes in the category the chipping of the teeth which is carried out in some areas of Luzon and also the boring of the nose, the hole so produced being decorated by a sliver of bamboo. Since scarification is the most commonly practiced type of body decoration it is worth quoting Garvan at some length to describe the method by which it is done and the designs that are produced:

This consists in causing surface wounds in different parts of the body and then by irritating the wounds in the course of healing with fire, lime or other irritants, in bringing about, as a consequence, the formation of scars. The purpose of the scarification is, in most regions, beautification of the person.

Scar marks are seldom more than the breadth of one's thumb and not half as wide. Only one or two are put on in the course of a single day as it is understood that the loss of blood has a weakening effect. If the pattern is intricate, it is customary to line it out with soot or lime, as in northwest Camarines, where a rather elaborate (for Pygmies) love token is scarified on the arm. As a general rule, then I would say that the scars are arranged symmetrically as to both number, position, size and direction.

Thus a scar on a certain part of the right side of the body will have a fellow on the left in a corresponding position. If the one on the right is horizontal, the one on the left will be similar in direction, but, let it be noted, oblique scars on one side of the body are countered by oblique scars (on the other side) that run in a contrary direction.

As to the number of scars on any given part of the body, I found no definite rule. The most elaborate piece of scarification I ever saw was the betrothal-scar of northern Camarines, placed either on the upper arms or on the thighs. (1963:48-50)

It is claimed that scarification is not an indigenous Negrito practice but must have diffused from some other culture. Whatever its origin, it is, with the exception of the Negritos of Zambales, the most common form of body decoration amongst Negrito men.

Headland, in one of his articles, discusses the aesthetic function of teeth mutilation among the Casiguran Dumagat:

The Dumagat method of teeth mutilation is to saw through the top six incisors and canines with a file so that they are flat and even with the gums and, usually, to keep them dyed black for a few years afterwards. The operation is done in late puberty, for aesthetic reasons, and is purely voluntary. There is no religious or magical ceremony attached to the custom. (1971:54)

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION



Negrito community life can be said to be socially anarchistic. By this is meant that the small number who compose any given band prefer to keep to themselves with a minimum of interaction with other Negrito bands far less outsiders. These small bands tend to be socio-politically and economically self-sufficient and the communal organization that does exist is not highly structured since the harmonious relationship within the band deem it unnecessary. Community leadership of the bands is in general vested in the elder men who make the few important decisions that are required from time to time. Arbues gives a good description of communal life:

The Negritos live in small bands, the average size being about 10 families,

or a total of 50 individuals who are related to a common ancestor. One band never contains more than two unrelated family groups. Though members of another band are in the same ethnic grouping as themselves, they do not like to live close to any other band, even though they may actually have relatives belonging there. Each band respects the other's territory. Nor do these bands like to live with Christians or even near them. There is voluntary segregation, even among bands and much more in regard to the Christians. (1960:39)

In the Pinatubo area Fox also points out the loosely structured communal situation one finds in the Negrito band:

The scattered villages of the Pinatubo Negritos rarely contain more than three or four households totalling 20 to 40 individuals, and there is no community life such as is found among the lowland people.

There is no overall political organization or even strong leadership, and each village or extended family is an independent communal grouping. Important decisions are made by the elder members of each family grouping. (1953:188)

Rice has also analyzed the community structure of the Negrito and comes up with some interesting reasons for the lack of a highly structured community organization. The author also shows how the imposition of values alien to the band will not take root since there is already cultural determination of contrary values:

Since cooperative labor is unnecessary to their present technology and since there are no disputes and no interest in warfare, they have no motivation for developing any community organization. At the request of the government they have elected barrio or sitio captains in some areas but these officials are not necessarily leaders and are primarily for communicating with the outside societies.

In an effort to stimulate cooperative concepts, some carabaos were loaned to the Negritos more than two years ago. Each was entrusted to a caretaker with the understanding that

they were to be used by the entire community. After two years, most of the carabaos have already changed hands in bandi, in marriage negotiations, and the caretakers are reluctant to loan them to other Negritos for labor. It is apparent that the animals are being considered as private property with obligations to the donors. Cooperative concepts have not yet developed and apparently will not do in this way since ownership of animals is already defined in their culture. (1973:6)

Estioko and Griffin's research attempts to demonstrate how seasonal fluctuations will determine the size of the band but also point out once more the care the band will take to ensure that the settlement or village is not too close to local Filipinos:

The rainy season brings people together; the dry season scatters them again. Actually one would look in vain for a rainy season village. Instead the several groups tend to locate near each other at a site not far from the farms of the pute (Malay Filipino farmers). By "not far" we mean within two hours walk or below point, in the rivers that are frequently uncrossable when flooded. The dry season camp is composed of a group of two to six families, generally related consanguinally or affinally. Occasionally a friend will make an extended visit. For a family to live alone is unusual, although some families

*... to ... pute cannot find
... They have at times solitary
... hidden in the forest
(1975:241)*

Although the bands tend to be loosely knit, there are occasions when communal organization will emerge of considerable strength. While among the Mamanua of Sarangani, Maceda noted how a funeral provided the focal point for a communal effort by the entire group:

Consanguine and affinal relatives stay close together and share whatever food supply they have. The practice, no doubt, helps to keep the members of the community together. Another manifestation of closeness of family and community relations was seen when a person from the third group died. The whole community was involved in the preparation for the funeral. In one way or another they comforted and helped the bereaved family, some providing the board or nails for the coffin, others contributing labor and the use of tools, or cleaning the surroundings and the house of the deceased, and preparing the food for the family and other members of the community who would eat in the house of the dead. During the burial all the members of the community, including the children, turned out. (1975:255-256)

Some economic activity will also produce a strong community effort. In Negros the membership of the temporary community organization will vary according

to the task or the social function which is to be undertaken. Cadelisna observed the formation of these community groups and documented the events which brought them together. This detailed account by the author gives a full impression of the events and the effort involved:

*A dominant service organization prevails among the Negritos. This group is voluntarily formed during the peak season of farm preparation. Though they disband after the peak season the membership tends to be permanent since practically the same people re-group when the need for it arises. They form into a working-bee group on the farms of its members on rotation basis rendering equal number of hours work in all member farms. This is locally known as **alayon** or **bulhun**.*

Membership in this working group is limited to individuals living in contiguous households. However, individuals from other communities may also join as long as they belong to their own ethnic group. Individual members living in contiguous households are preferred making transfer of workers from one farm to another easier. Working-bee groups are considered under various considerations; a piece of farm work is done fast; bigger areas can be covered during a relatively shorter period or time; work is relatively livelier; additional manpower can be tapped without any additional cash

expenses; and it develops a sense of social or group concern. One major responsibility of the owner of the plot worked on by the working-bee group is the provision of food during the working period.

A small family or kin group may be formed to conduct a fishing spree in a nearby river system. Since this consists only of one's kin member, this is usually smaller than the *bulhun* of the *alayon* group. An extra large fishing or hunting group is not advisable because it creates unnecessary disturbance to the potential prey and reduces the per capita share from their increasingly limited catch.

During a number of celebrations, such as marriage, funeral or house construction, community members may pool their resources to materialize the celebration. In most cases this practice of pooling resources restricts itself largely to kin members.

Nonetheless, this combined effort may also be observed during other occasions such as buying or selling goods in the *barrio* or municipal market. Just like the previous situations, the activity is limited to relatives or kin members. For instance, local products such as root crops and cereals produced by different individuals are sold in bulk to one middleman. This will enable them to command a better price than when small quantities are sold independently. The proceeds are consequently taken as one unit toward

marketing of household needs is also done on package deal basis. This, they reported, is possible if the members have the same needs. It is therefore necessary to have the members to be largely one's kin because essentially they have the same needs and discrepancies can easily be reconciled. The goods bought out of the proceeds are divided by the members in proportion to their amount of contribution. This practice is, however, more uncommon than the previous situation mentioned. This is brought about by the fact that there are costly consumer goods which can't be divided among contributors such as a pair of pants, t-shirts or polo shirts. These things are usually bought on individual basis. (1977:93-96)

The essence of real communal life is that the presence of the group operating as a unit on a totally unquestionable basis should mean that the need for a hierarchy is unnecessary. It should also ideally mean that any system of rewards accruing to an individual is purely determined by the effort he had made to ensure the well-being of the group. The rewards should also embrace moral and social rather than material values only. Fox largely found this to be the case amongst the *Negritos* he was observing in the *Pnatubo* region and fully stressed these aspects of true communal life:

Negrito life is basically communal. There is little chance for the decent?

hunt. Even if a lone hunter kills a pig, it is shared by every member of the community, and portions are sent to friends and relatives in other villages. If a family has an unusually good crop, it does not mean that this particular family will profit from an abundance of food, but that all members of the village will have an increased larder. There are no provisions for storage or conservation nor would group attitudes support such a behavior on the part of a family. It is impossible to refuse a request from *anyone* in the community. In fact, any personal property. (1953:247-248)

As one would perhaps expect in groups which are relatively unstructured

community debate and decision-making, they would always be consulted where matters of property are concerned. Rice and Timu explain the relationship between class, status and community organization thus:

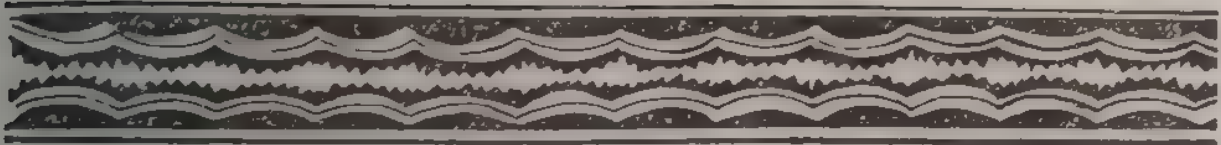
There seem to be neither classes within the Negrito society. Economically, however, the yearly income of the various families seemed to fall naturally into three groups, the lowest in excess of 650 pesos per year. The team members also observed the relative prestige which a person received from the members of his own society. Individuals who seemed to be looked down upon by the majority of the people in the society were classed in the lower status sociologically. To the opposite extreme, those individuals who seemed to be the recipients of respect from most of the people were put into the highest category. (1973:32)

The obvious lack of privilege and social status is the subject of this final quote by Vanoverbergh:

I have not found any kind of nobility among the Negritos, and no professional beggars either, everybody seems to be on the same social level. According to Negrito law, every man and woman is equal. Slavery certainly does not exist among the Negritos with whom I lived, and I can say so without the least hesitation. (1975:432)

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

POLITICAL LIFE



In essence the political life of the Negrito is an uncomplicated system based largely on respect for age. In the family the father assumes the role of governor of family affairs while at the level of the band the elder men exert control over affairs which are usually of adjudicative nature. It is noticeable, however, that the band is ultimately an almost totally democratic political organization. Outside of keeping peace within the band there are no persons who are 'legally' appointed chiefs. Everyone is considered equal in everyday life. Tradition more than the exercise of authority maintains the political equilibrium of Negrito life. Ben-nagen noted this:

Peace and order are maintained according to rules enshrined as laws by tradition. Members of the pisen made wiser by age and experience are consulted for arbitrating purposes. But, generally, decisions involving

the group are really crystallized opinion of all adult members. (1968:6)

The informality of political structure is occasionally disturbed when in some situations neighbouring lowland Filipinos 'coerce' the band into making one of their natural leaders into a quasi-legal ruler. Even in Garvan's time this process was evident as the author comments:

It is only where the Pygmies have lived in close contact with Filipinos for any length of time that an artificial government by Capitan, Con-seyal and Policia is organized, not as a consequence of any real desire on the part of the Pygmies, but rather as a yielding to persuasion on the part of the nearby Filipino town officials or of private individuals that are interested in holding the Pygmies together for one reason or another, usually selfish. Every group is a big family

*... and the oldest is no relative
 to any head man such as a father
 to us in any normal decent family.
 The patriarch may not necessarily be
 the oldest of the group. Age, infir-
 mity, change of disposition may grad-
 ually incline the members of our fa-
 mily group to rely on the opinion of
 some other member but in no case,
 nor anywhere, did I find other than
 an aged man acting chief.
 (1963:150-151)*

Garvan has also 'some comments to make on the question of authority and comes up with a solution to apparently insoluble problems which is based on what was formerly the vastness of the forest environment. He goes on, however, to explain that very seldom did a member leave the band even when in serious dispute with a decision made by the elders:

*There is no such thing amongst our
 Pygmies as exercise of authority. If
 an individual does not wish to abide
 by the opinion of his elders, that
 ends the matter—there is no way to
 force him for the forest is wide and
 its trails wind off into a wilderness
 of wilds. It is seldom that our
 Pygmy decides to flee from his kin
 and kind but it has been done, es-
 pecially in the casual cases of crime
 that have occurred within the me-
 mory of the present generations. The
 main endeavour in the settlement of
 every trouble is to get the party con-
 cerned to listen to reason so that out*

*of his own free will he abide by the
 opinion of the elders. Until it is felt
 that this has been accomplished, the
 affair is not considered closed. Even
 after an individual has acknowledged
 that he is in the wrong, the chief
 and elders still question and question
 him as to whether he feels that way
 in his heart, or in his liver, or where-
 ever the seat of emotion is thought to
 be. It is customary in all the groups
 that have come within range of my
 observation, for the loser to go off
 on a hunt and with the game secured
 to give his erstwhile opponent a re-
 conciliation feed in which social danc-
 ing follows the festive spread.
 (Ibid:153-157)*

Maceda reports that occasionally more serious crimes do occur and punishment may be carried out by the civil authorities:

*The punishment of individuals for
 crimes committed against other per-
 sons within the local group is to a
 certain extent administered and car-
 ried out by the Mamanua headman.
 If, however, the crime is so serious
 that the headman can no longer deal
 with it, he reports it to the civil au-
 thorities. The most common punish-
 ment today is simple ostracism. In
 the past, the murder of a Mamanua
 would lead to a feud. If killing oc-
 curred within the group, the murderer
 had to flee for fear of being himself
 dispatched by the immediate relatives.
 (1978:86-87)*

Although the political system is so loosely organized it is still paramount in the eyes of the groups. Attempts to impose alien forms of government frequently meet with lack of success. Rahmann and Maceda recount a case in Ilo-ilo where the civil authorities attempted to impose a leader on a Negrito group:

The Janiway civil authorities have had the sad experience of appointing a "presidente" who commanded no respect from the Ati themselves, and who, as a result, was never successful in carrying out his duties. So the authorities had to turn to Euticiano Gumarza. He is not only recognized by the Ati as the "presidente" of the Janiway territory, but it seems that almost all the Ati groups in the whole province of Ilo-ilo recognized him as such. The appointment to the office of "presidente" bears no corresponding monetary compensation it is only a position of honor. Gumarza bears the responsibilities of keeping his people at peace, of arresting and, should this be necessary, delivering Ati law-breakers, of settling disputes among the different Ati groups, etc. (1958:871-875)

Negritos, like people everywhere, have great respect for eloquence. The band or *panunpanun* as it is called in southern Negros and their respect for fine speech are the subject of this report by Cadelina:

The oldest member of the band would serve as its leader. He also

exercised the offices of manambal (medicine man) and counselor. In the latter capacity, he was expected to be a good speaker who could win the allegiance of other members by his eloquence and settle conflicts among them. (1974:52)

The informality which surrounds the political system is also reflected in the way in which the elders hold the sessions which eventually decide what is to be the result of disputes. The affair is underpinned by the extremely democratic hearing that characterises the process. Negrito justice is not repressive; it is more a process of attempting to understand why certain things occurred and to determine the motives behind the act that caused the hearing to take place. Garvan gives a sensitive account of the judicial system in operation:

When a matter for settlement comes up before matadung, ukum or whatever his title may be, there are no formal proceedings. The whole group knows of it and is interested in it. There is no attempt at secrecy nor any effort to "bluff" or otherwise humbug one side or the other. The whole purpose of appeal to the elders is to settle the trouble in justice according to custom or at the very least to prevent the matter from growing worse. The affair is discussed by all elders as they sit around their encampment. Neither young men nor young women take part though all

listen. The old men question and re-question until they have come to a good understanding of the whole affair and then advise. Appeal is made to personal feelings. There is never any doubt as to the facts of the case, there is seldom any denial, so the whole discussion has been really an attempt to understand the motives for the act. When these are known, the elders make their appeal to the aggrieved party, being backed up by the opinion of the group.

Women do not, as a very general rule, take part in settlement of disputes between men or between men and women. They may sit around and listen and even express their opinions occasionally but their influence is not on a par with that of the men. No Pygmy man considers women as having brains for such matters. It is the idea, perhaps as old as the Pygmy world, that a woman's destiny, privilege and prerogative is to attend to their children and to her husband, and the Pygmy women seem to acquiesce in this idea. But in concerns that have to do with women only, they seem to be able to get along very well among themselves. They get into their little squabbles and get out again. If two women quarrel, they speak to one another till someone intervenes. Among themselves women seem to have a certain standing that depends, as far as I could judge, on the influence of their hus-

bands in the group. Thus it is always to the wife of the "captain" that women in trouble or in grievance go first. (1963:151-152)

Democracy and justice, Agta style are clearly depicted in the following statements of Peterson:

All Agta leaders act in a strictly advisory capacity, never coercing and, in fact, never offering unsolicited advice. They may persuade by example only. (1979:16)

Adjudication by the elders does not always provide the solution to the few quarrels that are occasionally a part of Negrito life. Trial by ordeal ultimately provides the solution to many socially disturbing disputes amongst Negritos. One solution to conflict between band members is recounted by Vanoverbergh:

When two Negrito men have a quarrel, they sometimes decide the question in this way; both of them repair to a certain place, preferably on the beach, each with his own bow, usually devoid of its string; once there, they face each other, standing, one leg in front of the other, and strike each other in turn on the head; this is done only once, and the two blows follow each other in quick succession. The offended person is the first to strike, and the one who receives the blow, inclines his head, while he takes a firm hold on his bow, one end of which is stuck in the ground. The one

who sheds the most blood loses.

Women practice trial by ordeal in the following way. Both of them repair to the beach or to some other place free of bushes, take each other by the hair of the head, and struggle until they fall down. This is considered even though their tapia fall down and they be devoid of clothing, except if somebody intervenes and separates them. Once down, the loser of the two is considered as being the loser. (1938:152)

For a general description of the lack of democracy, Gairvan again suggests complete frankness and the absence of individuals seeking power and influence for their own self interest:

Back however, beyond the bourne of civilized access, our Pygmy wildings, hold no elections and hanker after no jobs. The oldest of a group of relatives or his brother or someone else of the kinsmen exerts influence by reason of his personality and persuasiveness but he must be an older man. There is no abuse of power, no craft, no law making nor law

enforcing and no yearning to reform the group. All the little bickerings and backbitings, all the little fables and fribbles and foolishness come finally to roost on the shoulders of our patriarch. But it might be only, perhaps, once a month or, maybe, only so many times a year, that it would be necessary for the elders of both sides to get together and hold a great pow-wow over some recalcitrant case.

If the affair does not smoulder out but keeps flickering and spurning out ever and anon threats and other unpleasantnesses, our chief connives to bring the parties together again in public session and makes another effort to straighten out the squabble. As an almost unexceptionable rule, the matter is settled at the first meeting but a hot-headed fellow in the heyday of youth or a youngster who thinks no small bear of himself, may require a second or even a third session. The upshot of it all, however, is a reconciliation of the opponents ending in a festive feast and good fellowship among all our little forgers. (1963:154)

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THEMSELVES AND WITH OTHERS

Although Negritos generally have excellent relationships within a particular band and also with other bands, their relationship with outsiders vary to a great degree. As a rule, however, outsiders tend to treat them in a rather derogatory fashion. As a result of this many of the groups tend to shy away from contact with lowlanders and other cultural communities. There is a complete willingness on the part of the Negrito, where contact is inevitable, to have friendly ties with lowlanders but unfortunately this feeling is seldom reciprocated by fellow Filipinos. In some instances the latter do have respect for Negritos' skills in acquiring food but these instances are the exception rather than the rule. Hopefully with the educational and community organization inputs now being supplied by government

and private agencies this situation may change but it will apparently be a slow process due to the high degree of mobility preferred by most Negrito groups.

A. Relationships among Negritos

The loyalty and mutual self-help within Negrito bands is the subject of this account by Arbues:

Among the Aetas there is a strong sense of loyalty. Respect for elders who regulate the activities of the band is greatly emphasized. The elders have priority in making decisions as to what and when to hunt; or to open, clear and plant their fields. Duties and privileges are determined by the age of each person. The band members are loyal to the group and help

one another. There is mutual agreement to help and share work and goods in the band without any expectation of returns. If someone is sick, any other member of the band will search for the amulet or medicinal herb for the person. Any individual will help clear the field of his band members. If one desires something owned by another person, he just has to ask for it and the article will be given freely. Children are sometimes adopted with great ease if the parents feel that they can spare them. (1960:40)

Negrito awareness of other bands of the same culture promotes intimate and comradesly feelings between groups which happen to come in contact with each other. As Vanoverbergh points out, this is the case even when the groups never previously had any contact with each other:

It was very often clearly apparent that consanguinity or blood relationship existed between several members of each of these groups, but it was hardly possible to know if this was always the case and if affinity or relationship by marriage of old standing was not a sufficient reason for being included in a certain group. It should be noted though that this separation into groups is far from having the general effect of rendering them antagonistic to one another. Indeed I have often been able to observe that my Negrito carriers, when meeting members of their race formerly entirely

unknown to them, stopped to chat with them and almost immediately behaved as if they had been acquaintances of old standing. As far as I know, all Negritos are usually friendly to one another although the members of one and the same group have certain relations with each other which they have not with the members of another group, for instance, attendance at prayer ceremonies, frequent contacts, very intimate cordiality, and so on. (1930:538-539)

Two of the Luzon groups, the Ebukid and the Dumagat, show considerable appreciation for the skills each possesses. The Ebukid are also admired by Christians for their fishing skills. Although obvious appreciation is manifested this does not prevent the Dumagat from poking fun at the Ebukid for their lack of agricultural skills. The derision is nevertheless of a jocular rather than a malicious nature as can be inferred from an account by Bennagen:

A few Ebukid who have had contact with Dumagat and, though rarely with Christians are beginning to grow corn, camote and cassava; most of them, however, remain as river-fishers, hunters and food gatherers. Their reputation for excellence as fishers and hunters is widespread among the Christians and the Dumagat. The Dumagat would point to the Ebukid in marked derision, that the latter know only to eat tubers, fruits, fish, meat and honey. A Dumagat would

... and in fact, the ...
 ... the ...
 ... with a degree of ...
 ... the ...
 ... and ...
 ... on them a certain degree
 ... and ...
 (1928:)

B. External Relationships

The variation of relationships with outsiders is dependent to some extent on the geographical location of the Negrito group. In some areas contact has been established for economic reasons and has persisted for a considerable period of time. In others the Negrito still prefers to keep contact to a minimum. Gloria describes this unwillingness to form lasting external relationships as being due to the shyness of the Negrito and their fear of Visayan neighbours:

The relations of the Ates among themselves are peaceful, like the relations among the members of a big family. Similar peaceful relations prevail with the Visayans. The Ates are a timid people, of weaker physique and they avoid whatever might provoke anger of the Visayans. (1939:98)

In Northern Luzon a similar pattern prevails. The lowland Filipino is not loathe to praise the Negrito but also complains about Negrito idleness. Vanoverbergh claims that a high degree of social distance does exist between Negrito and other neighbouring peoples:

The Ilokano and Kagayan generally praise the Negrito for his many virtues, but they all complain about his unsteadfastness and lack of interest in agriculture.

To conclude, we find the Negritos living in happy intercourse with everybody else, but entirely isolated and kept away, from Isneg and Christian alike, by a deep social gulf. (1925:188)

Trade is the principal reason for contact between most Negritos and their neighbours in the lowland belt. This has also led to the Negrito contracting himself to work occasionally for Filipino farmers and especially so in times when there is scarcity of food. Arbues highlights these semi-formal relationships which force the Negrito to overcome his timidity:

The Negrito with all his shyness, is wont to trade with his neighbors, exchanging forest products such as rattan and bee's wax for cloth, knives, iron and ornaments. The most important of his possessions are therefore not even of his own manufacture. Occasionally, Negritos might accept the invitation of other Filipino groups to work for them and cultivate their farms. However, the Aetas are not accustomed to such work in the sun. One can see a group of Negritos coming to town on certain seasons of the year, especially during the time after planting and before harvesting — the starvation period in the barrios. They

bring forest products with them to be exchanged for clothes and other necessities (1968:41)

Mamanua of Mindanao also conduct their handicraft products to outsiders and occasionally with local government officials. In so doing the negotiator is usually aided through the elder but he must still had to submit his dealings to the consensus of the group. Maceda observed the procedure:

In entering for Mamanua services, the government negotiates with the leader and members of the family group. For instance, in dealing with the local government the matriarch had the formal authority to represent the community, but decisions reached had to be submitted to the other elders in the community. In purchasing a new boat for future delivery of handicraft products, matriarched families may deal directly with the person or persons engaged in the transaction except in the case of minor items when the agreement has to be made through the elders. (1968:42)

The economic relationships that do exist between Negrito and Filipino can be described in generalized terms. The factor that does characterize these relationships is the absence of documented contracts. The point to be made is that the Negrito people have to take advantage of the economic dealings

Abingon, 1968, p. 10, to refer to the economic relations of the Dumagat

magat and a Malay who have special socio-economic trade relationship to each other. Use of the term may signal any one or more of the following; (1) that a Dumagat and a Malay, as individuals or families, have debt obligations with each other, (2) they are in an utang-na-loob relationship; (3) the Dumagat is a tenant farmer on the Malay's land, (4) the Dumagat frequently works for the Malay; or (5) they have an institutionalized trading relationship with each other.

All Dumagats have at least one Malay 'patron' with whom they are in an ahibay relationship, and many have several such patrons. This is not necessarily bad for the Dumagat, for there are favors and obligations expected of both parties. This Malay often calls on his Dumagat "serf" for help with manual labor, or to obtain rattan or wild meat from him. In return, the Dumagat can go to his Malay ahibay when he is in need of rice, wants to borrow an axe, etc. He may also have his Malay ahibay serve as a go-between in securing help from some town official.

This is not to say that the ahibay system is never abused. It often is, by both Dumagats and Malays. There are unscrupulous Malays who oppress their Dumagat ahibays, and also Dumagats who, after getting deeply into debt to their Malay ahibays, move to a distant area so as to escape having to fulfill their obligations. It has

same time, there are many Dumagats and Malays who are known to abide faithfully by the system, and who have remained in good ahibay relationship with the same people for decades.

Malays who are not indigenous to Casiguran (immigrant homesteaders from other areas of the country) are especially prone to misunderstand the ahibay system. This often results in an ethnocentric bias, on their part against the Dumagats. Some Dumagats are also quick to take advantage of these naive Filipino outsiders. Thus, the misuse of the system often leads to unfortunate repercussions between the two races. (1975:251)

Relationships with outsiders do sometimes assume a purely social dimension such as the integration of Negritos into the Filipino custom of *compadrazgo*. Negrito families who have warm ties with Filipinos will ask them to become godparents of their children and as Cadelina reports, harmonious and friendly relationships are built up:

Since ritual kindred of Filipino families are treated almost like consanguineous relations, a strong attachment between the representatives of the two groups developed. Negrito adults or youths, with kumpadres (godparents) in the town visit them during the town fiesta or on Christmas. (1974:56)

C. Lowland Abuse towards Negritos

Many Filipino groups have taken little trouble to understand the true nature of the Negrito. Research done in a wide variety of areas has clearly shown that the townspeople and lowland farmers are extremely derogatory towards Negritos who live close to them. Because they are regarded as 'primitive' the townspeople will frequently take advantage of Negrito timidity and ignorance. As Arbues remarks, some sympathy towards the Negritos is in evidence but generally comments about them are of an abusive nature:

In general, the neighboring Christians have a very low opinion of the Aetas. There is a mixed feeling of sympathy, pity, and distaste toward this minority group. They are regarded as very primitive and even looked upon as objects of wonder, amusement and curiosity. There are songs of the townspeople which mention their prejudice against this minority group. In the songs it is stated that the Negritos are people of the mountains who eat lizards for their food. Some townspeople use unfair practices in dealing with this minority group. They often fool the illiterate Aetas by means of shrewd business contracts. (1960:43-44)

A similar pattern emerges in the work of Oracion who claims that the Negritos

... the Negrito is a very ungrateful being, who, instead of showing them his eternal gratitude, answers their kindness now and again by running away and leaving them in the mire, as they explain it. (1930:537-538)

A ... he ... explains how the ... of honesty ... great concern for ... Negrito ... to ... his debt

The Negrito is completely at the mercy of the Malays who provide him with rice. He knows no fixed price for his wares, and sells for what he can get, or rather the general rule is that whatever he gathers, manufactures, or raises, serves to pay for rice he has already consumed. Not able to keep accounts, he does not pay his real debts, but he gives the Malays whatever they tell him he owes them. And a good many Malays, who are shrewd, and whose conscience is very compliant with regard to money matters, especially when they have to do with somebody who is much weaker than themselves, do not fail to use this opportunity of making the Negrito their tool, their slave, without being branded by the stigma of being slaveholders. They all appear innocent and strictly honest, and they do not fail to tell you that they are so indeed, and that the Negrito, a poor fellow, for whom their bowels are moved to pity, and whom they feed

gratu at every turn, is a very ungrateful being, who, instead of showing them his eternal gratitude, answers their kindness now and again by running away and leaving them in the mire, as they explain it. (1930:537-538)

Rice comes up with the intriguing account of how sugar planters have appeared to the philanthropists while increasing more and more into the traditional territories of the Negrito. What Rice is emphasizing is blatant protection of the planters' interests while appearing to be helping the bands. This is often done as Rice reported with implicit government approval:

Negritos of both societies seem to categorize outsiders as either land-grabbers, of which there are many encroaching on their lands, or as philanthropists (dole-giver) of which there are also many. It is apparent that the Negritos do not appreciate the former. They appreciate, of course, the latter and perhaps some of the gifts have been helpful to them but they have not stimulated any amount of self-dependence; the contrary has been the case.

Recently the Negritos have complained about the sugar planters encroaching in the reservation so now the sugar people have joined the philanthropists in order to avoid an open confrontation and thus protect their investments.

This recent development has blurred the distinction between the two types of outsiders. Since many official actions of government agents have strengthened the position of the sugar people at the expense of the Negritos, the government is also seen as a philanthropic landgrabber. (1973:67)

Rice continued this theme with a further account of the plight of the bands and stressed the blurred distinction that now exists between a genuine philanthropist and a blatant landgrabber:

The Preliminary Report on the 1971 field work stated that the Negritos recognize only two types of outsiders: the landgrabbers and the philanthropists. Many outsiders, both small farmers and large plantation owners (several of whom are also political leaders) have taken over portions of Negrito lands in the past and relations are usually less than cordial with them. Many Americans and Filipinos have also been involved in distributing charity of various kinds to the Negritos and this has given rise to the second concept of the outsider. Since many of the official actions of the government agents involved with them recently have tended to strengthen the power of the sugar planters at the expense of the Negritos, the government is also seen in the role of philanthropic land-grabber.

The favors and gifts which have been

divided and agencies in the past have definitely been appreciated by the Negrito people. It could even be said that the people have obtained some benefit from those gifts but the benefits have been a mixed blessing. The frequency of gifts from the U.S. Naval Base has encouraged many of the Negritos to depend upon them, thus making them less than industrious. Many of the people of Baliwet have even been willing, it seems, to change their residence and abandon locations which they reportedly prefer in order to avoid antagonizing the source of some of those gifts. In this way their own native self-reliance has been seriously damaged. It is not yet known whether the damage is irreparable.

(Ibid:37-39)

As the sugar planters push back the Negrito in one area so the loggers and the mining companies do it elsewhere. The Negritos frequently and unwittingly assist in the process as they guide the various companies amongst the maze of forest that the intruders wish to exploit. As Estioko and Griffin have noted, it is a process of getting the assistance of the Negrito to destroy his own culture:

In the Palanan area, the adjustment of Agta and Pute is an old and tested relationship. Pute population explosion is straining the situation, and the influx of outsiders of different ethnic origins is a further disruption. The Ebuked are only beginning to

One firm helps to fund a comment on a bill. Aides try to demonstrate the good intentions that will face those who

ing to bring the Negrito into the mainstream of Filipino cultural life:

Contracts between Negroes and their neighbors have so far proven injurious. No group would want to be integrated into a social system which will with one simultaneously pick their pocket with the other hand through unfair dealings. Then, most of all, no group would want to be integrated into a social system that assigns them to a despised status in which they will only face ridicule or aversion. (1960:45)

CHAPTER NINETEEN

CHANGE

In the past the Negrito bands freely roamed the vast stretches of forest that formerly covered the hills and mountains of the Philippines. Although living largely at the level of subsistence with fluctuations embracing seasons of plenty and seasons of scarcity, their culture and its traditions were protected by the relative isolation that their natural environment afforded. This isolation permitted them to perpetuate their race and culture virtually unmolested by external elements. In the second half of the present century the situation the Negritos find themselves in, has changed drastically.

Since the end of the war in the Pacific, they have been increasingly subjected to the encroachment of outsiders who seek to exploit the natural resources of their traditional homelands. Agricultural development by lowland farmers and commercial plantations is one side of the coin. The other largely comprises the logging operations who are removing the forests

largely for purposes of export to the developed nations. In some areas where forests still exist in considerable quantity the Negrito is forced further into the interior of these areas. In others they are forced to adopt sedentary agriculture to compensate for the plant life and game that has disappeared with the removal of its natural habitat.

With physical encroachment comes also cultural domination by the more advanced peoples of lowland stock. The dominant position of the lowland Filipinos permits them to effect change in the Negrito groups who are seldom consulted as to the desirability of that change. Most agencies, government and otherwise, have to a large degree accepted the inevitability of change in Negrito culture and consequently have introduced literacy, educational and agricultural programs in its wake. It remains to be seen how successful these programs will be in the long term but in some areas the signs are quite encouraging.

the change agencies fully understanding the essence of Negrito culture only by that level of understanding, with the traumas of transition to the new situation be avoided.

A Encroachment by Lowland Filipinos

The problems brought by a new technology introduced by lowland groups have been remarked upon with considerable clarity in Cadeliña's research:

For the past 30 years or so, since World War II, most of these cultural minorities have increasingly felt the impact of the rapidly changing culture of the lowlander around them. Under the pressures of an expanding population, the lowland Christians are penetrating ever more deeply into the minorities' retreats. As a consequence, the socio-economic conditions of the latter almost everywhere have reached a very precarious stage.

The Negritos of southern Negros have certainly not been spared the problems arising from a rapidly changing cultural and physical environment. In recent times they have learned to wear cotton shirts and pants, consumer items usually beyond their economic means. They may even have graduated to the possession of a transistor radio, with whom I came in contact. (They are rarely able to use it, because they

cannot afford to keep an adequate supply of dry-cell batteries).

Their disturbed physical environment no longer allows them to practice their former much cherished and on a whole, effective technology of hunting and food gathering. And to compound their woes, they are increasingly falling victims to the tide of rising expectations, most of which they are unable to realize with their present income. The Negritos of today, while still able to exist, can hardly be said to live. (1974:47-48)

It was stated earlier that Cadeliña was optimistic about the interaction brought about by Negrito contact with lowland groups and he continues this theme in another study while also pointing out that the degree of encroachment is such that the timid Negritos have nowhere left to go even if they did want to avoid the presence of their new neighbours. Cadeliña also emphasizes the important part that intermarriage might play in bringing about coalescence of the two peoples and uses statistics to show the degree to which this is already taking place in Negros:

I agree with the authors of the article that the disappearance of the forest is the basic cause of the changes that are taking place. The continuous upward movement of the lowlander into the mountains has left a very limited space for these naturally shy and timid people to take over in. Thus, no matter with what appre-

hesitation and reluctance, they are forced to stay put and allow themselves to be surrounded by the more sophisticated cultural group of the lowlanders. Under the circumstances, it is impossible for the Negritos to avoid all interaction with lowland Filipinos. Apart from the shyness and the fears of the Negritos, there is also the reluctance of the lowlander, springing from a feeling of superiority, to actually extend a friendly hand with the Negritos. But as the two groups are more and more forced upon each other, more occasion for mutual contact and interaction will inevitably arise. With this the tight inhibition and restraint that characterize the various stages are going to dissolve. The great frequency of such interaction is to create what might be called "cultural contact" in which people are going to an intermediate level of culture and endeavor to adopt the ways of the superior culture. New trade techniques and material provisions can be introduced to the Negrito community.

One of the factors that is hastening the change in culture of Negro is the increasing incidence of intermarriage between Negritos and lowlanders. It is seen that the old stigma cannot such practice is slowly disappearing. This was bound to happen. The constant contact of the two groups together with the lowland pressure has led to a gradual

clearing-out of prejudices and a growing mutual understanding between the two groups. Of 71 couples surveyed in the four barrios of Mabinay 47% represented intermarriages. Among unmarried young Negrito adults, there is an expressed desire to marry lowland spouses, or, at least to have their prospective children married to lowland people. The offspring of such mixed marriages, who physically and culturally hover between the two groups, prefer to have lowland Christians as spouses.

Intermarriage is no doubt a very effective vehicle for the promotion of acculturation between the two groups. Given the inferiority of Negrito culture as perceived by both sides, the tendency is generally for the Negritos to be attracted to the practices and ways of the lowlanders. Another factor making acculturation between Negritos and lowlanders is the exchange of products between the two groups. There is a well established mechanism facilitating this process. On market days, known as *tabu*, both Christians and Negritos from different barrios converge in a designated place (*tabu-an*) to exchange goods. The Negritos generally bring the products of the forest, such as rattan, honey, baskets, young parrots and other forest products. In the process of these transactions, whether in cash or in kind, some exchange

of news and views is likely to take place, resulting in further assimilation to the dominant group.

Another important factor is the *compadrazgo*, an alliance system based on "spiritual" relationships as practiced amongst Christians, which has been widely adopted by the Negritos of southern Negros. Seventy-one per cent of the families I was able to interrogate claimed to have one or more Christian *kumpares* who served either as baptismal or wedding sponsors of their children. The bonds engendered by the *compadrazgo* between Negritos and lowland Christian families is bound to expose the former increasingly to the cultural influence of their *kumpares*, the *compadrazgo* being considered as an extension of the Filipino family. Thus, many Negritos, both children and parents, reported that they had "many times" visited the houses of their godparents during Christmas or town fiesta.

One final factor of acculturation are the public schools existing in different barrios and sitios, which provide an opportunity to school-age Negrito children to acquire a formal primary education. The practice of sending Negrito children to school is, however, only in its beginning. As more and more Negrito children find their way to these schools, they are

bound to understand and ultimately adopt the lowland Christian way of life. (1973: 221-222)

Headland also claims that the artifacts of technological change will of necessity bring about social change. He catalogues the change from hunting and gathering to wage labor on Filipino farms which took place in a relatively short space of time, indicating the speed with which the Negrito traditional environment is being subjected to large-scale transformation. Most importantly for Headland the building of a road into the area will speed the process to a considerable degree:

There has been culture change over the last forty years, of course. But most of this change, interestingly enough, has occurred since 1962, after this writer began his field work in Casiguran. That is, it appears that in the Dumagat culture, more change has occurred between 1962 and today than had occurred between 1936 and 1962. One example of the change observed during this period is that twelve years ago Dumagat men spent most of their time fishing and hunting with bow and arrow. Today these same men work most of the time for the Malay Filipinos on their farms downriver.

Some factors that have contributed to this change are: (1) the influx of transistor radios during the late 1960s; (2) the introduction of such industries as logging, mining, and lumber-

(3) the introduction of modern
techniques, and (4) the population ex-
plosion in the Casiguran valley, which
resulted in an increase of 146 per cent
in the population.

It can be almost certain that the
population of the Dumagats will
increase greater in the next decade as
settlers seeking land continue to pour
into the area, where there are still
vast areas of virgin rain forest to
be extended. In addition, the govern-
ment had nearly completed the con-
struction of the first road into Ca-
siguran. The opening of this road
will undoubtedly result in many ad-
ditional changes in the valley.

(GCS 255-256)

Maqueda has also researched the problem
of lowlander encroachment and goes on
to explain the despicable practice whereby
land that Negritos have cleared is taken
over by lowland farmers who then use
the same Negritos as mere tenants on the
land they have made ready for agricul-
tural use.

The Negritos have been strongly af-
fected by the encroachment of the
lowlanders in search of land and lum-
ber concessions. As a result, food
collection and hunting no longer
suffice for an adequate food supply.
Facing this predicament against the wall,
they have had to adopt some suf-
feringly necessary activities in or-
der to survive. The degree of ad-
aptation to the new situation varies

considerably among different Negrito
groups. It would seem that the Ma-
manuas of northeastern Mindanao
have progressed farther in their adap-
tation; most of them have begun to
cultivate small patches of land. Some
with the aid of lowlanders and gov-
ernment agencies, have progressed to
the point of securing titles to their
land. However, whenever possible,
they still continue their old practice
of food gathering and hunting. Like
other primitive groups, some of the
Mamanuas have been victims of un-
scrupulous landgrabbers. The con-
ditions of the Negritos in most of the
other islands are not enviable. Often
forested lands, after having been
cleared by the Negritos, are not being
cultivated by them as tenants of low-
landers. This situation exists among
the Negritos in Negros, Panay and
many parts of Luzon. (1974:7)

B. Negrito Change to Marginal Agriculture

That the future, and therefore the di-
rection of transition for the Negritos
should be toward agriculture is the staunch
recommendation of Rice and Tima's re-
search in Zambales, Western Luzon:

Lumber resources have already been
removed from the upper ranges of the
reservation. No mineral resources
have been reported in the areas. Water
is available but it is not abundant
nor suitable for development of either
hydroelectric power or large irrigation

systems. The basic natural resources upon which the Negrito economy must be built is, therefore, the soil. (1973:22-23)

In Mindanao, Maceda sees the same process since acculturation to the technology of the encroaching, lowland farmers seems the only way that the Mamanua can assure themselves of an adequate food supply:

Their culture is now undergoing rapid change from that of a food-gathering and hunting group to that of marginal agriculturists. This forced change is primarily due to the heavy influx of lowlanders into areas where the Mamanua used to be in almost complete control. Immigrant farmers and mine-workers-turned-farmers have come to appropriate whatever arable lands were available in northeastern Mindanao and have largely taken over the Mamanuas' sources of living. Thus a forced but inevitable process of acculturation is now taking place. (1975:250)

If some Negritos are now tilling land which has been claimed by them for the purpose of agriculture many others are forced to accept agricultural work for lowlanders. Rahmann and Maceda paint a sorry picture of the Ati:

For the majority of the Ati this situation led to the transition to agriculture. For one group, namely those of the municipality of Dao, it

meant the sinking down to the condition of what seems to be a kind of tenantry. These Ati have as stated above, rather well preserved their racial peculiarities, but they have done so at a high cost so to speak; they have become the tenants, if not serfs, of some farm owners from the lowlands. (1962:632)

The Ati live, as already mentioned, in lands that they no longer own. They may, in a somewhat wider sense, be considered as tenants. In parts where they live as tenants, they are allowed to cultivate a small clearing and plant bananas, papayas, vegetables, etc., but they do not have to share their produce with the landowner, nor are they required to pay any form of rent. Once in a while they, the Ati themselves, will voluntarily bring some fruit to the landowner's house, as a token of gratitude. They are free to hunt and trap wild animals in the nearby bamboo groves and in the small second growth forests found along the banks of the river. (1958:866)

The Ati often hire themselves out as laborers in the plantations of wealthy landowners. After the harvesting season is over the laborers drift away to look for other kinds of work. For instance, they hire themselves out for planting sugar cane points and for cleaning the field after the sugar cane harvest; they also find employment

...digging rice paddies and transplanting the rice seedlings.
(1962:868)

The authors of the above quotation go on to further describe the plight that the Ati find themselves in. In a series of accounts they describe how this once proud people are now reduced in some instances even to begging in order to keep body and soul together:

According to some of the missionaries, the Ati who live near the city of Iloilo consider it almost a necessity to go begging on Fridays. The Ati who live in the interior say that begging is shameful, so they till a piece of land which, as has been said, they do not own. (1958:866)

In this following account Rahmann and Maceda explain also how the women and girls have been pushed, through the disappearance of their lands, into field work and also into becoming the domestic servants of Christian lowlanders.

Most of the younger male Ati of Hanu, therefore, work, after corn and rice have been planted, in the nearby (small) sugar plantation. Some of them even go as already mentioned, to the sugar haciendas of Negros as contract workers. An Ati who knows how to plough may be hired by a lowland Filipino to plough his fields. Ati laborers are also hired for the gathering of coconuts and for copra-making as well as for the cutting of bamboo to be used for fish

traps. The latter work is hard and needs much skill. Ati women and bigger girls hire themselves out for weeding the fields of Christian farm owners. In the towns of Hamtic and Dao, Ati girls serve as maids in Christian families. (1962:633)

Amongst the Mamanua of Mindanao the situation is slightly different since through the help of development agencies, some members of the group have been taught the value of land titles and consequently have acquired legal rights. The importance of the legal title is sometimes not fully understood by the group members and as Maceda points out they will be swindled into selling it for trivia or mortgaging it for a debt they cannot repay:

The idea of land ownership is gradually evolving among the Negritos; force of circumstances, if nothing else, is pushing them in that direction. However, at this early stage, land ownership is familial rather than individual. The acquisition of land may take place in one of several ways. What might be called "original" acquisition, by clearing a piece of land in the forest. Second hand acquisition occurs in most of the ways employed whenever land passes into other hands: by inheritance, as part of a bride price, through barter and lately perhaps even by outright purchase. While the majority of Negritos have so far hardly heard about the necessity of acquiring legal

Because land ownership is yet a fairly new development among Negritos, they have not yet learned to attach much importance to it. They are thus quite ready to dispose of plots of land to meet what are at times quite needs, or buying, e.g., some t-shirts or trinkets or perhaps a sack of rice. Instead of selling his land outright, a Negrito farmer may mortgage it to get some ready cash. Unfortunately, in the majority of cases, the end result will be the same because Negritos rarely manage to pay back their loans. Sometimes land is traded between two families as part of the bride price, a practice encountered among the Negritos of northeastern Mindanao. (1974:7-8)

Estoko and Griffin have noted that the Agta are turning, with considerable success to agriculture also and they have become aware that encroaching lowlanders are quite unscrupulous in taking the land from them. They also are now beginning to protect their holdings with legal titles:

Non-hunted Agta hunt less often and strongly desire shotguns instead of bows. They have adopted several alternative strategies for securing their own supply. Both men and women

clear fields, prepare the ground, plant, and harvest the crop of pule and receive about one half of the harvest. They are, in effect, tenant farmers without permanent dwellings at the fields. A few enterprising Agta now own carabaos, have cleared land, and are resisting pule acquisition of the land. They plant and harvest their own crops. A constant vigilance has to be maintained against seizing the land, but part of the non-hunted adaptation includes increasing sophistication concerning legal rights and the ways of the Malay pule. (1975:243-244)

The few gains that Mamanua and Agta have made in the acquisition of legal titles are a minority feature of the transition to agriculture. By and large there is still large-scale expropriation of most Negrito groups by lowland Filipinos. Cadelis reports that in Negros the Negritos are regarded as trustworthy by the lowlanders but are not remunerated in money:

Children of either sex are expected to help in the following work: household chores like fetching water, collecting firewood, taking care of the younger siblings and cooking; farm work such as making kalinga, planting, weeding, field watching and harvesting; and in the forest and rivers, gathering of wild root crops, orchids, wild fruits and fishing. Only in kalinga are sons largely preferred.

the Mamana do not have the treatment of another Mamana. The genuine nature of the effect to the farmer or worker is not known but the attitude is that of exploitation of the laborer by the most ignorant approach to the work. The laborers:

Some Mamana women and work for the kaingin farmers and some companies as tree fellers. Some who have mastered the use of pesticides, the children of the mamanch are used on a daily basis for picking a field. If they bring the given work arrivals, they get higher wages. Payment may be either on a daily basis or by the size of the area cleared. The women may hire themselves out for weeding the fields. A few Mamana women and young girls work as househelpers but this is only possible when the living family are near the Mamana settlement.

*It was a Mamana custom that even if only one member of the family, say the father, was hired for work, the whole family would accompany him to report for work, too. The employer was expected to feed the whole lot as *meragaga*. If his wages are paid in kind, the laborers are no better off than with cash payments. Further, the poor ignorant Mamana are a lost den. (1975:264)*

C. Changes in Material Culture

Concomitant with the economic change in the past few decades has been in the existence and expansion of a Negro material culture of Mamana as a material nature. As Rahmann and Maceda point out, the range of artifacts now evident amongst the Ati goes from household furniture to sophisticated implements for food production:

Only a few Ati can afford to have, like the lowland Filipinos in the rural districts, simple tables and other furnishing in their houses. Such things as cooking pots, made either of metal or clay, porcelain bowls and plates, water containers, (bamboo tubes or tin cans), jars, glasses, and mats for sleeping are now quite common. Some families possess a loom. The Ati men, of course, carry on their belt a bolo (large knife) as all Filipino farmers do. The agricultural implements now range from the digging stick to the plough. Fish and animal (including rat) traps are quite common. One also sees fishermen's goggles and fishing wirespare as well as hook and line. (1962:637)

Maceda has done a comprehensive study into the changing patterns of Negro dwellings and the furnishings they contain. His research shows variations ranging from dwellings which are only a small

improvement on the lean-to, which was suitable for a semi-nomadic existence, to gabled houses which begin to resemble the more sophisticated dwellings of the lowlanders. The difference in the three types of houses he now distinguishes amongst the Negrito are to a large extent determined by the economic situation of the different families which have constructed them. Maceda has gone to considerable lengths to describe the change and in a detailed piece of work he has documented the following:

The houses of what I have called the third group still strongly recall the kind of shelter they used to live in. In fact, some of them are just sheds without walls and, consequently, also without windows or doors. The roofing of these sheds, although no different from the better huts as far as the material is concerned, is rather rudimentary and makeshift. The "furniture" is equally meager; a pandanus mat for sleeping and a few discarded tins as kitchenware. The houses of the second group show a more conscious effort at copying the house of the lowlanders. Besides a better-made roof, they have sidewalls made of woven coconut leaves or tikoy (rattan-leaf shingles); a curtain made of similar material or laman bark may cover what serves as the doorway, and in some cases, there is even a sort of stairs of two or three steps. Probably because of their high mobility Mamanua families

seldom use clay pots. Instead, most of them have aluminum cooking pots as kitchen utensils; the very poor ones settle for empty tin cans, such as containers of pineapple slices or paint. In addition, they may have an enamel basin or coconut shells in which to serve food, but no cups or glasses or spoons. In the case of both groups two and three, the kitchen consists of a cooking area under the house or in the yard. The stove is made of three heavy stones which serve to hold the cooking vessel over the fire. Some even more enterprising house owners had a cooking place in the hut itself.

However, doing the cooking outside seems to be the preferred way, because the fires will also serve to warm the members of the families after getting up in the cold morning and to keep away the gnats and mosquitoes while the people sit around at night. Nowadays they light the fires with matches or with a brand borrowed from a neighbour, no longer with a firesaw. The lighting in the houses is provided by the open fireplace — if there is one in the house or with a suyo (resin torch) or a simple lamparilla (a flat dish or empty bottle with a cotton wick). Blankets are a rare luxury. For storing food and other perishables, they use baskets specially made for the purpose. Water for cooking and drinking is fetched and stored in large bamboo tubes. Coconut shells or

short bamboo internodes serve as drinking vessels when people do not prefer to drink directly from the big container.

The three houses of the first group of families are the closest copies of the lowland, gabled type of house. While those of the second and third groups are mainly one-room affairs, the houses of the first group show some semblance of being divided into a sleeping room, a small sala, and a kitchen. There are windows and doors, and well-built regular stairs. Since the owners are economically better off, these houses are seen to be relatively well furnished. Besides aluminum cooking utensils, they own plastic dishes, basins, and glasses, all of which are kept spotlessly clean. As mentioned earlier, their houses are provided with a kitchen. One of these houses can even boast of a sala set, which may be carried from one house to another whenever the need arises e.g., at the arrival of visitors.

Otherwise, the families prefer to eat sitting on the floor. Being rice farmers, they have a mortar, several pestles, and a winnowing basket for cleaning rice. These are loaned on request to anyone in the settlement who has dry palay to clean. They also have tin lights for lighting the interior, traveling at night.

(1953:242-243)

Today, however, a feature of the patterns of change in Pinatubo is becoming more

and more the western mode favoured by lowland Filipinos. Headland suggests that the only item of traditional clothing which is still to some extent favoured is the G-string:

In the late 1960's, women began to wear used, machine dresses, rather than tapis and today this is the usual dress. Beginning in 1972, we noticed that men were beginning to wear long or short pants more and more often, especially when in town. The G-string (usually worn with a shirt nowadays) is still the more usual men's dress, but there appears to be a definite, gradual shift to the wearing of pants. (1975:248)

Manufactured cloth is also now prevalent amongst the Negritos of Pinatubo who are chronicled by Fox:

As noted, the Pinatubo Negritos now utilize manufactured cloth obtained from the Chinese stores in the lowlands for the loin cloths of the men, and the wraparound skirts and blouse of the women. (1953:259)

D. Change in Health and Hygiene

Headland claims that whatever change may have taken in other areas the benefits of a more lowland type of existence is not reflected in the health of the Negritos:

Chronic malnutrition is prevalent today throughout the tribe. The infant mortality rate is 60%. The mean

age of death for those who survive infancy, is about forty years.
(1975:248)

Alaceda in his own survey of changes in health and hygiene has usefully correlated health and hygiene practices with his three categories of Negrito house builders:

Members of the first group have acquired many good health habits. More they copy the health practices common among lowland farmers.

*The yards surrounding the houses of the Mamanua of the second and third groups tend to be small and barely distinguishable from the general environment, whereas among the first group the yards around the houses are wide and kept clean. Children and women may be seen sweeping the yards every day with coconut midrib brooms. Furthermore, there are attempts at beautifying the yard by planting ornamental and flowering plants. In addition to the purely decorative plants, they also plant some that serve a double purpose for decoration and as food plants — like the **tangad** (lemon grass), **kamungay** (horseradish tree), beans and others. The Mamanua housekeepers of the two other groups try their best to keep their small yards clean, but with indifferent success. As soon as they have swept aside the litter, the children are likely to come and play with it, scattering it again*

in the process. Instead they have converted whatever little yard there is into a kitchen garden. Sleeping mats e.g. are left spread out on the floor at their houses the whole day and anybody who wants to sleep on them is welcome. The members of the first group, on the other hand, remove the paraphernalia for sleeping from sight during the day. Meanwhile, the furniture that had been pushed aside during the night is arranged again in the sala for daytime use. The split bamboo wooden floor was kept clean; whenever the children happened to soil it, their attention was called.

The Mamanua in the settlement are slowly acquiring or, at least are becoming familiar with, the health practices of the first group and of the project director's family. A daily bath in the nearby river is common practice. Most of them do not have soap. But if they manage to get hold of a piece of soap, they use it liberally. The Mamanua like perfumed bath soap very much, without being particular about the brand they are using. Owing to the few pieces of clothing that most individual Mamanua own, the same clothes are worn after the bath. Thus, no matter how often they take a bath, because they wear the same clothes day in and day out, they exude what most lowlanders term a "fishy smell". In contrast,

members of the first group, beamed and swell off by Afan standards, have learned to follow the standards of lowlanders in the matter of personal hygiene. They use soap for bathing and washing. For example, after they even show brand preference. The men in this group use their own clothes, and wash them. It was observed that after they take a bath, they wash their clothing. If then the men go out to do their work in the bush, they go into a new outfit of clean clothes. Cotton clothes are becoming popular.

E. Change and Marriage

There has always been some intermarriage between Negroes and lowland Papuans (see notes). It has never been a very serious factor in changing the character of the Negroes to lowland Papuans. Most of the intermarriages are this way: a lowland Papuan woman marries a Negro. The Negroes say that the Papuan women marry them because the group is rich in food. It is true that there are many food crops in the bush, but the Negroes do not know how to use them. The women of the Negroes

say that the lowland Papuan women marry them because they are rich in food. The women of the Negroes say that the lowland Papuan women marry them because they are rich in food.

Interd. 1974:56

The intermarriage which does come in largely biased towards the union of lowland male and Negro female. Custom gives a highly important status for this type of union.

Ninety-eight per cent of mixed marriages are between lowland Christian male and a Negro female. Inter-marriages will, of course, also help to even out the physical differences between the two ethnic groups. It will thus, in the course of time, help to overcome the rejection of the Negroes now often expressed in derogatory reference to their appearance. It is worth mentioning in this context that there is a frequently heard wish of the children of such mixed marriages to marry lowland Christian spouses, a wish shared by many of the young "pure" Negroes. (1974:56)

F. Change and Alcohol

One of the most disturbing features of Negro culture is the use of alcohol. It is a large source of trouble and is a major factor in the change of the Negroes to lowland Papuans. The Negroes say that the lowland Papuan women marry them because they are rich in food. The women of the Negroes say that the lowland Papuan women marry them because they are rich in food. The women of the Negroes say that the lowland Papuan women marry them because they are rich in food.

liquor intake but one might speculate that it does relieve the myriad of problems they face as their traditional way of life breaks down in the face of imposed change. Maceda points out that the intoxicated states the liquor produces is a result of the Negritos' lack of resistance to the various beverages:

A bad habit introduced among them, especially among the younger set, is the drinking of hard liquor. They have no head for it and easily get drunk. This happens even when they drink only the lightly alcoholic coconut toddy tuba or beer.
(1975:266)

Headland goes further claiming the problems to be "chronic" and enumerates the various social problems that today's intake of liquor is bringing to Negrito life:

Today, drunkenness is a chronic problem among the Casiguran Dumagats. There is only one man that we know of that has never been a heavy drinker. If there were just "a few women" that drank in 1936, the case is changed today, for roughly 75 per cent of the women over thirty get intoxicated at least once a week. Intoxication is more prevalent among the men, however.

Today, as it was in the 1930s, the common beverage is tuba, made from the fermented sap of the nipa palm (Nypa fruticans) or, less often, the coconut palm. Distilled wine (alak), made from tuba, is also common, and

commercially produced liquors are likewise readily available. Dumagats themselves do not produce any type of fermented drink but acquire it from the Malays.

Drinking is without doubt the number one form of relaxation and stimulus for enjoyment among the Dumagats.

Among many negative consequences of this custom, may count the following. First, men and women often prefer to be paid in liquor for their day's labor. This results in their arriving home drunk and without food for their children. Second, heavy drinking usually results in quarreling, which often leads to actual fighting, both between husbands and wives and among neighbours. Bloodshed sometimes results and occasionally death. Third, cheap liquor has a debilitating effect on the chronic drinker's health.
(1975:249-250)

It seems unlikely that in the face of the current problems the Negritos are facing in their transition from seminomadic bands to sedentary agriculturists that the problem with the use of intoxicants will recede easily. The most one can reasonably hope for is that when the transitional period is past, the worst of the culture shock entailed, the Negrito abuse of alcohol will abate. In some groups that does not seem an imminent prospect especially as middlemen are always ready to supply it in payment for Negrito labor.

C. Change and External Agencies

The difficulties faced by Negrito groups with the encroachment of alien cultures and values has not gone unnoticed by government and other private development agencies. In some areas ministers of education are also making steadfast efforts to bring about social change with minimum disruption and destruction of the valuable elements of Negrito culture. Rice and Tuma have given the problem some theoretical direction by suggesting for the guidelines which should provide a gentle transition to a system which will not eradicate Negrito culture. They see the process as one of complete cooperation between the two cultures, one which will allow the Negrito to embrace the pattern system of the dominant culture without sacrificing his own culture in the process. They claim that:

The principles which stimulate genuine integration are acceptance, cultural cohesiveness and emotional closeness; while the areas for development for a community are the following: national security, mental health, protection and cultural continuity. (1960:84)

While suggesting the theoretical impact of change, Rice makes several points for consideration of a changed society. *Change can only be effectively introduced if a culture is left the opportunity to accept and reject*

crisis and responsibility. It is a basic principle in contemporary social science that cultural minorities resist new ways because the old has the sanction of the past. The basic task in the integration of the Negritos into the national society is then to link new and old patterns without corroding either. (1960:45)

Rahmann, on the other hand, perceives the disruption of much of Negrito culture in the change but squarely places much of the responsibility on the shoulders of social scientists in ensuring that knowledge of the culture will provide the practical guidance for creating as gentle a transition as is humanly possible:

The wake of progress, which has taken on the form of attempts to integrate the cultural minorities of the Philippines into the national way of life, will inevitably use the destruction of the many forms of our indigenous cultures. These local cultures are the patterns of these people's lives, and, although they, no doubt, have their defects, it had taken centuries for these cultures to evolve and the people have found in them a satisfaction for which even the most advanced technological assistance cannot always offer compensation. Now we bring about and introduce among these people that this change will not break the existing bond between them and the land, considering it responsible for the a far point and then we can

tists whose main concern is the study and understanding of the different indigenous cultures, and whose knowledge of such cultures can be turned into practical uses in community welfare problems (1967:444)

Maceda almost echoes Rahmann with an emphasis on well developed planning as the basis of any introduction of change:

This writer would like to urge most strongly that any future projects of the kind described in this paper should first develop a set of socio-economic plans based on a careful study of the culture of the ethnic group concerned. Such plans must, among other things, provide sets of inputs, procedures for on-going evaluation of the project, controls, and final evaluation procedures for the measurement of success or failure of the project. Without such careful advance planning, projects of culture change may just become costly white elephants. Lastly, qualified social scientists, specifically anthropologists and economists, should be involved, both in the planning stage in solving problems that may arise in the execution of the plans. The actual administration of the project, however, should be entrusted to competent administrators. (1975:276)

Cadelina argues that it is not only projects devoted to the Negritos that should be undertaken but rather programs which also cater for the Negrito's lowland neighbours since harmony between the two

groups is the important part of any development project:

In my opinion, however, it would be a serious mistake to confine such assistance to the Negritos, leaving the Christian farmers to fend for themselves. Any discriminatory assistance would, first of all, drive a wedge between the Negritos and the lowland settlers. Secondly, it would further strengthen the Negrito's sense of inferiority. Being singled out for assistance would make them feel even more helpless vis-a-vis the Christians than they are now. Thirdly, a one-sided plan of assistance would be bound to arouse suspicions among the settlers about the ultimate purpose of the aid project. Knowing, as they do, that they are intruders on land which they stole from the Negritos, they would be apprehensive about the eventual expulsion from their present holdings. To ward off such a disaster, they would try to frighten the gullible Negritos with the kind of false rumors reported earlier in this article. The fact that assistance is extended only to the Negritos would make such rumors more credible. The foreseeable result would be the Negritos' rejecting the project altogether thus dooming any plan for development to failure. For these reasons then I believe that any plan of assistance should impartially benefit both groups.

may not become fluent enough to take it by other means of communication, the fact that he is learning it will make him more readily acceptable to the society. He must adopt their values in his dealings with them and not insist upon his own value system.

He must also avoid the trap of being classified either as landgrabber or as a philanthropist. Social pressures in the society will be strong upon him to distribute relief goods and other gifts from his "benefactors" but it will be wisest to avoid the temptation. It will be more consistent with his position to demonstrate his interest to learn from the Negritos about the various herbs and commercial plants of the area while he experiments with other crops and improved varieties of standard crops. Social pressures from outside the Negrito society will also encourage him to "get something for himself". That will be another temptation which he must avoid. The role of intelligent friend is not an easy role to play. (1973:63-64)

H. Ongoing Development Programs with Negrito Groups

One of the government agencies involved in development programs with cultural minorities is that headed by the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities (PANAMIN). In an attempt to uplift the Ati, PANAMIN set up Sitio Mari-

kudo located in Isabela, Negros Occidental as a development project of an integrated nature. Tupas describes the Sitio and the activities therein:

Sitio Marikudo represents one effort to restore dignity and respect to the Ati. The Sitio is divided into residential areas; agricultural lands provide him the opportunity to be productive. The barrio center, which includes a school house, is aimed at integrating them into Filipino society. The Ati grow vegetables and raise chickens and goats in their backyard. In the farming area, they have planted palay for the first time. Their corn crop has recently been attacked by locusts.

In the schoolhouse, the Ati are taught functional literacy, that is, they are taught not just reading and writing, but how to make dresses, how to apply fertilizer, how to keep harvest records and the like.

The PANAMIN hopes to subsidize the project it started last October for at least a year more. It rents the 150-hectare area at P6,038 a year and spends P2,000 a month for the salaries of two supervisors, one teacher and for the Ati's market supplies. (1968:11)

Another project with a minority Negrito group is that involving the Mamanua of Lake Mainit, Surigao del Norte. This is also an integrated project which has inputs of functional literacy, education,

malnutrition and upland rice cultivation. Morda did research on this project only after it had been in existence for a short period. The reports Morda produced at this time were generally pessimistic. He claimed:

The attempts presently being made to assist the Mamanua in this difficult process of change are by no means the first. Early in the 19th century, Jesuit missionaries, who worked among them and even succeeded in making some converts, set up Mamanua reservations in which they could live unmolested by lowland Christians. The present barrios of Juluabong, San Roque, and San Pablo were founded in that way. But there are no more Mamanua living in them; only the Mamanua Cemetery of San Pablo remains as a mute witness to their having lived there.

In the 20th century, also, the government has lent a hand by setting up reservations, building schools and engaging in various social welfare projects. But all these efforts, to which one could add those of well-meaning individuals, have had only limited success. A fresh beginning in the field of education has been made with the setting up of an adult literacy program. Having negotiated with the public school authorities, the members of the project team are now creating for the opportunity of a full-time teacher in the primary school.

Farming techniques are taught to the men and women of the settlement by the project director himself through demonstration. Both adult and adolescent Mamanua are given a chance to observe and to participate in the farming activities. The men and boys do the heavy work, such as plowing and cleaning the field, while the women and girls perform the lighter tasks, like planting and weeding. While the people were working on the last-mentioned field the division of labor was not only by sex but also by skills. The project manager saw to it that those who showed interest in acquiring particular skills, such as plowing, harrowing, making the planting furrows were assigned to the group doing that kind of work. Those less eager to learn were assigned to digging out the remaining clumps of green and to reduce the larger clods of soil. Other men and young boys were assigned to secure camote cuttings for planting.

As we were watching and taking pictures, the Mamanua workers seemed to be completely absorbed by their work. Later, however, the project director told me that the participants in the communal work are quite adept at shirking work and retreating as when the job is almost finished. For instance, when they are sent out to fetch camote cuttings, they tend to loiter on the way. The same is true of a person who is sent to cut

ing water. Hence he said, the overseer has to be on the job at all times.

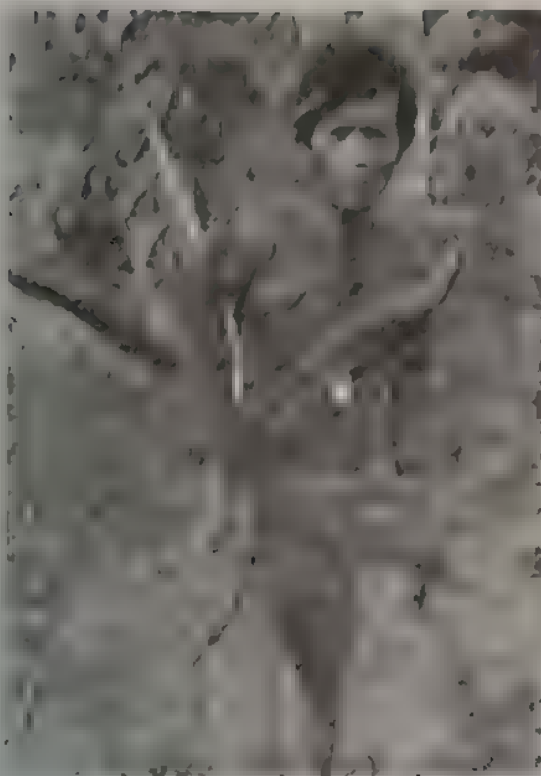
What we found was not impressive. Some changes have taken place, but they are minimal, certainly not enough to warrant pronouncing the project a success. Among the beneficial changes the following deserve to be mentioned: 1) the houses of the second group have metamorphosed into houses with *inak-ak* board wallings; 2) instead of planting *camole* most of the families have begun the cultivation of wet rice; 3) the Mamanua are beginning to appreciate the value of good drinking water, which has been made available to them through a local water system; this was installed with their cooperation with materials provided by the local government; and 4) there is a continuing demand for a primary school. Against these positive results, there are, on the other side of the ledger many failures and defects that must be noted: 1) the housing of the third group is as primitive as before; in fact it is, if possible, worse; 2) bad feelings about the former project director have led to the permanent departure of some families from the third group; 3) the long awaited primary school is still in the future; the help promised by the lowland farmers has not materialized; 4) literacy classes for adults petered out after one month; 5) the economic situation of the Mamanua has remained stagnant;

6) the children look undernourished (if the reddish tint of hair seen among them is a sign of protein deficiency); 7) the Mamanua's way of thinking about, and attitude towards, labor, especially farming, has not changed at all; 8) a mendicant mentality seems to be on the rise. There are more defects that could be enumerated but the foregoing will serve our purpose.

The Cantugas culture-change project described in the foregoing pages has, from the very start, been beset with many problems. First of all, the very people whom it was supposed to benefit, the Mamanua, were and still are largely in the dark about the direction and purpose of the whole undertaking. Most of them seem to live under the impression that belonging to the settlement entitles them to various privileges without any accompanying obligations. Hence they approach their assigned tasks as something like a game. There is great danger of developing a "mendicant mentality" among them. Secondly, on the part of the people administering the project, there is a tendency to pay little or no attention to the cultural ways of their charges. They fail to realize how deeply ingrained these are and how difficult it is for the people to adjust to the radically new ways they are supposed to adopt. The attempts of the Mamanua to break out of the new, to them confining, patterns may lead to angry

**Right: A Mamanua farmer shows
his harvest (cassava) from
the communal farm. (Photo
by REYLAZO)**

**Below: Negritos of Quezon are hired
as laborers by loggers. (Photo
by ASI COMMUNICATIONS)**



Cantugas community residents cooperate in building structures as shown in the photo.



The Mamanua Negrilo settlement houses resemble the dwellings of lowlanders.



Some yards in the settlement are regularly swept and beautified by ornamental and flowering plants as well as fruit trees



Photos by PBSP DEVCOM UNIT)

*...enabled by their self-appointed
... Misunderstandings and so-
... contact find a fertile ground in
... a situation (1975:269-276)*

Much of this pessimism is not borne out by the most recent study done at Lake Mambao. Philippine Business for Social Progress, a development foundation which has been providing funds and technical assistance to the Mamanua report that after four years of the project, the change has been commendable. The school is functioning well with the adults now also demanding education. The sedentary rice culture is also successful and many of the Mamanua have acquired legal titles to their land. One of the most significant changes has been in terms of organization and leadership. The Mamanua now have various, democratically elected committees to run their affairs and men young as twenty-five years old have been elected to positions of responsibility as a result of their capabilities in handling the affairs of the group. The process of change has been slow but it is, nevertheless, taking place in a satisfactory fashion.

Various organizations formerly or presently engaged in development work among the widespread Negrito groups have participated in this process with the aim of helping establish a better quality of life for this cultural community.

I. Change and Land Ownership

One of the major problems facing the Negritos is the question of land tenure.

Since they have never developed the concept of individual ownership of land they find it difficult if not puzzling to grasp the concept of individual, legal ownership of a piece of land. Since their traditions do not embrace this concept, Rice and Tima suggest that the areas made over to Negritos should be inalienable and be closed to exploiters whatever the nature of that exploitation might be. To prevent the land from being 'taken' from the Negritos they advise that 'clean titles' should be provided and that 'one can expect at least a generation to pass before the concept of individual ownership is clear:

If the Negritos should become alienated from their lands, of course an improved marketing system for their products would be an exercise in futility. While it is true that their lands have been legally declared as reservations, this has not prevented the loggers from removing all of the lumber resources nor has it prevented the sugar planters from using reservation lands for their own crops. In some portions of the Buag Reservation the planters have simply encroached upon the edges of the reservations without saying anything to anyone. Negritos have mentioned this and people in authority are aware of it but no government agency has yet registered an official complaint.

Large portions of the reservation have been leased to sugar planters by the Commission on National Integration. The contracts were arranged

by the District Agent, and signed by the Commission, apparently without the usual bidding process. Little if any consultation with the Negrito residents took place. One of the contracts involve 300 hectares of the 360 hectare Baliwet reservation leaving only 60 hectares for all of the Negrito families who are living there. Much of the 60 hectares consists of a dry stony riverbed which is not usable for anything. The planters have proceeded to level and plow huge expanses of land by use of bulldozers and tractors and have closed large areas of Negrito territory off from the Negritos. Trees which were planted by the Negritos and from which they have been harvesting fruits were uprooted by the bulldozers, removing the evidence of Negrito occupation.

The most suitable method, therefore, by which the present land problems could be solved is to provide each Negrito family with a large lot on which to establish his residence, cultivate his swidden, plant his orchards and keep his animals. This subdivision must be accomplished in cooperation with the Negrito residents in order to include in each individual's portion those sections over which he has exclusive rights. It must also be large enough to provide for some sections of land to remain in fallow. There is no need to set aside a separate *barrio* site for residential lots as is the custom in most lowland societies. A

"*barrio* site" would probably consist of merely three lots; one each for a school, a market and a chapel.

The Negritos must be given clear titles to their individual lots but provisions must be written into those titles that would prevent the Negrito from selling his property to a non-Negrito for an extended period, say 40 years. Leases granted to outsiders must be limited to one-year terms, renewable if mutually agreeable, but not transferable. It may seem that these requirements are excessively strict but they are quite necessary to protect the people from exploitation at the present time. The Negrito people are still committed to their original concept of "territory"; the limiting of "his land" to a single ten hectares, for instance is still quite foreign to him even though he greatly appreciates the sense of security which that piece of paper called a "Title" gives to him. He could be easily convinced to part with that little part of his "territory" for adequate inducement knowing in his heart that he still has lots of "territory" to which he can go. It will take more than a generation before he alters his concept emotionally and begins to protect his small portion of land as a heritage, and stewardship.

There are some sections of the reservations which are not appropriate for subdivision. These portions should be made into a Negrito Forest Reserve.

Such lands should not be made alienable and disposable except to Negritos who will actually utilize the land. They must remain closed to loggers and other outside exploitation unless approved by both the Director of Forestry and a council of all heads of families in the area.
(1973:48-53)

J. Change to Sedentary Agriculture

Rice and Tama have been the major protagonists of Negrito change to agriculture not only as a source of food but also to commercially market the produce. In the area where most of their research has been carried out, Zambales, they have studied the market situation and the future potential of the Negrito to successfully sell the produce from agriculture on a profit basis. They are also aware of the ecological importance of utilizing the correct crops for the area concerned:

In the light of the limitations of other natural resources, agriculture remains the primary basis for economic development in the area. There are two fields in particular that look promising. First, it appears that the Negritos have already begun to enter the field of commercial agriculture through the production and sale of bananas and papaya. Both of these fruits do well on the slopes and plateaus in the reservation. To help the people increase their production should be a rather simple task. There is very

little likelihood that the market for those fruits will decrease in the foreseeable future since both are important to the diet of all large markets to make them economically profitable. Second, the sandy soil of the reservation seems eminently suitable for the production of root crops, especially camote. The price of this crop has been steadily rising and there are seldom enough of them available to meet the demand of the major markets. Since the people already possess the necessary techniques for producing this crop also, there should be no serious difficulty in expanding production.

Neither fruits nor root crops are likely to damage the soil of the reservation nor upset other ecological factors since both have been cultivated for several generations already. Camote and bananas are both advantageous to the reservation because of the protection which they provide for the soil. It is quite likely that new species or varieties of these crops could and should be introduced which would increase production or improve marketability.

It would also be valuable to investigate pork production in the area. The wild bananas which cover the slopes in the Buag reservation are reported to provide excellent food for pigs. If the pigs are allowed to forage, they would be likely to im-

prove both the fertility and water-retention capability of the soil. Pork is also a valuable product in all of the surrounding societies and not difficult to market. (Ibid:42-43)

Cadeliña takes another point of view about the transition to sedentary agriculture. He contends that the problem is not one of increasing the acreage under cultivation but to intensify the technological inputs in the areas where the Negritos have settled. A program such as envisaged by Cadeliña will require considerable educational inputs of an agricultural and technical nature and is adequate if the problems of production can be reduced to the two major variables, i.e. soil fertility and investment in technology, which Cadeliña claims to be the crucial factors:

- 1) *The Negritos should be helped out in improving their level of production not through increasing the acreage of their cultivation but through intensive technology. Such technology should include proper and adequate soil management, tree conservation, improved farm production technique, and livestock production mainly for hogs and fowls.*
- 2) *Basic knowledge on soil fertility preservation, soil erosion control, and forest conservation are essential to hillside farming of shifting cultivators.*
- 3) *The Negritos have basic ideas on*
their environment but need more

system and production. More undesirable effects on their production can be expected if the homeostasis of their present ecosystem is not preserved or restored.

- 4) *Their shifting cultivation technique is a modified form which is an adaptation to their changing environment. The period of fallowing is tremendously reduced and tree cutting is rapidly disappearing. It is primarily uprooting of weeds through the use of simple tools such as the guna or bunlay.*
- 5) *Natural recovery of soil nutrients through fallowing is inadequate hence Negrito farms will eventually become sterile for agricultural production unless more intensive and artificial technique of improving soil fertility is introduced.*
- 6) *Their level of production is uneconomical. Investment exceeds production.*
- 7) *Their level of production largely rests on the interaction of two controllable variables: fertility of the soil and investment on technology.*
- 8) *Labor demand-supply have almost matched and to increase labor would mean more economic disadvantages to them.*
(1977:215-217)

Maceda is again pessimistic about change. Negative ways to sedentary agricultural practices. In a series of observations which enumerate the problems of technological and social change the author explains that the traditional methods of food production are still strongly embedded in the socio-psychological make-up of the Mamanua. Because of this Maceda argues that effecting change will be difficult:

A whole string of particular problems come under this heading. To mention the more important ones: the conflict between the technology the Mamanua knows and understands and the new one being introduced (e.g. the plow), problems connected with the concepts of property acquisition, disposal and consumption; the present need for food resources (the area is no longer viable for food-gathering and hunting); hiring oneself out to others to earn a living; other technological innovations; and the monetized economy.

The majority of the Mamanua in the settlement have yet to learn the whole complex of culture traits and practices that go with the new methods. The use of the plow involves new practices like the care of the draught animal, the purchase and maintenance of a plow, etc. While the Mamanuas are accustomed to get up early in the morning to build a fire to warm themselves, pasturing the work animal before the sun rises is one of the things they have to learn. To them this is

an unpleasant and boring task. Getting wet in the cold early morning when looking after their traps or tracking down wounded game is at least exciting.

Even with the bongat they have not yet developed the habit of meticulously cleaning their swidden patches. They will only tackle the thickest clumps of grass and disregard the thinner growths. They argue that once the thicker portions are cut, they will cover the shorter grass, and when the dried grass is set on fire the thinner patches will also be consumed by the flames. In actuality this is not what happens, for only the topmost layer will be burned, leaving what is closer to the ground intact. Thus one notices that in Mamanua clearings there are grassy patches growing and competing with the crop just planted. As a result, Mamanua production is low. Furthermore, as the grass grows thick, the pests use it as cover. They get their share of the crops ahead of the owner.

Coordination of planting activities is understood. Mamanua farmers plant at their leisure. The pests, therefore, instead of being spread among the different clearings, will attack them one by one, and generally poor harvest results.

The Mamanua do not appreciate the need of seed selection when planting root crops or cereals. Provided the

seeds planted take root and sprout, the Mamanua farmer is confident that the plants will grow to maturity and bear fruit. He views with equanimity the depredations wrought on some of the crops by small pests. It is only when larger animals, like deer, wild pigs, or monkeys, eat up their crops that they begin to worry and feel that they have to do something about it. Insect pests destroying their crops are not blamed at all; instead the Mamanua believe that the rituals which they practice at planting time were not properly performed and that the spirit of the cultivated area must have been displeased.

Like many of the lowland farmers, the Mamanua do not use artificial fertilizers or even organic ones. Their use and effect is neither appreciated nor known by the Mamanua farmers; neither is the practice of crop rotation, which has no meaning for these Negrito farmers. As far as their own experience is concerned, the kaingins are always high-yielders. Soil exhaustion is dealt with by the simple expedient of transferring to another site after the third crop. Meanwhile the site reverts to second growth forest. Signs of erosion in abandoned clearings are common enough, but because of the abandonment of each site after several seasons of planting, erosion is slowed down. The soil damage does not show because new vegetation covers the eroded ground. (1975:270-271)

As if to justify his theme of the difficulty of effecting change Maceda gives a very comprehensive analysis of the socio-psychological factors which go towards truly understanding what it is like to be a Negrito:

The ingrained habit of roaming the forest in search of food and other forest products is still very strong among the members of the settlement. The men especially, but at times also women, simply slip away for days on and/or even for a whole week to trap and hunt. Engaging in activities which allow them to roam the forests makes them feel that there is still some freedom left to them. Outsiders, who fail to understand this psychological need arising from the tension which the sedentary life imposes on them will consider this behavior as an irresponsible dereliction of duty and will condemn the Mamanua as "lazy" and "good-for-nothing".

The feeling of being a member of a kinship group remains strong. Thus an individual identifies himself strongly with his local group. He is unable to make a decision without the sanction of the group, e.g. in the sale of products or hiring out for wages. Should the group disagree with the arrangements made, the individual may renege on his promises. An outsider who contracts for services or forest products will be safer in this transaction if it is arranged through the leader and elders of the group.

They can exert the needed psychological pressure to make sure that the creditor will get what he contracted for.

An outsider coming into the Mamanua settlement who thinks of making a present to anybody must remember to let all those present during the gift-giving have their share. Failing to do so will arouse resentment within the group, and requests to do things, although perhaps granted orally, will in secret be turned down by the whole group or the member concerned. One of them is the continuous making of promises that remain largely unfulfilled. Because of this, many of the neighboring lowland farmers swear that the Mamanua from the settlement are born liars.

The Mamanua understanding of the monetized economy of the lowland farmers has not gone beyond an appreciation of coined money. Paper bills are not considered money by most of them. Besides, only a few among them can recognize the values printed on the different denominations. Hence, they prefer to be paid in coins in most of their transactions. Perhaps their lack of understanding where money is concerned is also behind their failure to pay debts contracted a few years back.

Their concepts of time and distance are not well developed. To travel a long distance means nothing to them

but for outsiders the non-understanding of time and distance can be most frustrating, especially when a person has to wait for them to show up. If they say a certain place is a day's journey away, it may easily take a hike of several days to get there. Their concept of distance and its relation to time is indeed poorly developed. As we have already seen, they are similarly ill-equipped for thinking of the future. Postponement of gratification for the future is an alien idea to them. Thus if they are in the happy possession of a little cash and happen to go to the market, the little money they have will be spent on various things. Thus when a real emergency arises wherein their little cash earning would be urgently needed, they will be helpless.

The Mamanua family believe that any Mamanua worker should always think of his family. Thus a worker may complain of being hungry, yet be found to have kept his share of food untouched because he intends to bring it home to his family. At the same time, he feels it his right to ask for more. It is not unusual, therefore, for Mamanua working in the household of a lowland farmer, e.g. a girl working as a maid, to steal rice or other grains to give to their immediate families. Thus the often heard complaint that the Mamanua are dishonest and worthless as household help. Actually they are only

trying to provide for the needs of their families.

The same "faults" of the Mamanua have also been mentioned to us by lowland farmers who have Mamanua wives. (Ibid:272-273)

Maceda's generally pessimistic accounts stem from reasonably valid observation and analysis of the Negrito in transition. The problem remains, however, that some method must be found by which they can be, without undermining the valuable elements in their culture, more closely integrated into the mainstream of Filipino society. The rate of change in Filipino society in general is likely to continue impinging upon the Negrito people. Education will play an increasingly important role in making transition less traumatic than it has been hitherto. It must be an educational program, however, which is designed to meet the specific needs of the Negritos during the transitional period.

K. Education for Change

Most people and organizations concerned with the plight of the Negritos do lay stress on the necessity of educational programs among the various groups. Rice and Tima would encourage a degree of flexibility in Negrito educational programs which would fully cater for the current needs of the groups as well as slowly introduce the elements of change into the situation.

In the Negrito society, the parents accept the training of the children

as a responsibility from the very beginning and continue to perform that responsibility until interrupted by marriage or some other change in the daily relations. For that reason it would be very advantageous for the children to remain with their parents for an additional three or four years and begin their formal education at the age of ten or eleven.

It may be agreed that as long as the children continue to live with their parents there is no separation and that the children would receive the necessary home training at the same time as they are receiving formal education in the school. It has been noted above, however, that the training processes in Negrito society are inherently and integrally involved in the work patterns of the people. To have the children in the school building, or even on the grounds, while the parents are performing their regular work, would necessarily break the essential interpersonal relationship through which socialization takes place within the society. If schooling is begun at the age of ten or eleven, the child will be able to receive the benefits of both the agricultural and moral training provided by their parents and the formal education for literacy and national involvement which the schools can provide. In this way they will be prepared to make a living in their own area as well as to participate in the responsibilities of government.

Some efforts should also be made to recognize the schooling in the Negrito communities. Direct contacts should be made with the Division Superintendent and other higher officials to allow the local teacher(s) to deviate from the usual lowland curriculum whenever necessary in order to accomplish improved communication and more functional literacy and at the same time avoid prestige conflicts between the families and the schools. This is in full agreement with the concept of the Community School which has been stressed by various officials of the Bureau of Public Schools in recent years. (1973:57-58)

Cedelano also recognizes the importance of not forcing Negrito children into radically different patterns of life through the introduction of the lowland educational system. In the context of timetables and even the games children play the author states:

However, for the beginning at least, it is important that the Negrito children be not abruptly forced into a pattern still alien to their accustomed way of life.

a. *Rigid class schedule* To let the children set out early in the morning so as to be on time would force them to leave without breakfast and to get soaking wet in the day so that their start in school would be attended by

the double misery of hunger and cold.

b. *Play activities should take into account the Negrito children's preferences. Letting them play the lowland children's games or games which the teacher learned in teachers' college will only bore Negrito children and will ultimately result in disappointment for both teacher and pupils.* (1977:58)

Maceda as recently as 1975 claimed that the majority of Mamanua Negritos were illiterate and that educational programs especially in the context of agriculture may be problematic since ignorance of the Mamanua tongue and communication system will render them, in many instances, meaningless unless special efforts are made to fully understand Negrito methods of communication.

Since the Mamanua in the settlement are practically all illiterate, the use of reading materials as a means of teaching them more suitable farming methods is for the present ruled out. It is also to be noted that those who seek to teach them come from a developed farming community. Hence, the Mamanua hardly understand the instructions given to them.

Another problem in communication is the result of the difference in social status. Mindful of their own standing, the Mamanua answer in such a manner as to please the speaker.

Ignorance of their tongue may thus cause serious misunderstandings and the real problem may not surface until after a project has failed. It may not only be oral communication that has to be learned but also the non-oral forms. The Mamanua ways of communicating without speaking may tell many things that they do not disclose otherwise. Thus, in trying to assess their acceptance of new practices it is not only their oral answers that should be considered but also their non-oral responses or reactions. (1975:274-275)

Finally a word about innovation in general. Whether one is attempting to implement an educational system, a family planning system, a marketing system or whatever, it is of ultra importance that an understanding of the cultural values of the group into which the innovation will be introduced is fully understood. Maceda has gone to great lengths to state this important aspect of cultural change:

No innovation can take place without being accepted by the society. This requires that the decision makers in the society decide to accept the innovations. The decision makers in the Negrito society are the husbands of the nuclear families. If a specific innovation needs to be accepted by only one family, it is merely necessary to convince the husband in that family of the importance of innovation. It would be better, however, to have

more than one family involved in any innovations that are suggested to avoid any semblance of favoritism and to eliminate opportunities by any of the Negritos. It would be preferable to involve all or a large number of the heads of families in every discussion concerning any proposed innovation.

If the decision concerns all of the families in a given geographical area, all of the husbands in that area must be involved in the decision. They will obviously influence each other but it cannot be assumed that a decision by the majority is binding on the minority, or even influential unless the minority has actually been involved in the discussions. The wives cannot take the place of their husbands in decision-making and children must never be used as change agents in their own homes with their own families (or even with other families). It should likewise not be assumed that the Barrio Captain or other official represents the people in any decision. Such is not the case.

Owing to the Mamanua's strong reliance on relatives, most of the members who share in the communal labor normally do not exert as much effort as they should, but everybody, no matter how little he may have contributed, expects to share equally in the fruits.

This attitude is probably an offshoot of the traditional practice—a form of limited communism — of sharing

among the members of the local group the results of a successful hunting and gathering foray. The practice of food-producing societies of keeping the fruits of their labor for the nuclear or, at most, the extended family is yet alien to the way of thinking of the Mamanua. Immediate gratification and letting everybody share in the bounty of the moment by far outweigh any consideration of possible future needs. In this, as in many other respects, the Mamanua has the outlook of the child who lets the future take care of itself.

Another impediment that hinders the acculturation process has to do with the practices connected with labor exchange. For example, if a Mamanua worker goes to fulfill his work obligation in another man's *kaingin* the entire family comes along. The members of the family help in the required work but the employer is then also obliged to feed the entire family. Denial of food to the other members of the family is considered bad manners. Thus the expenses for making a clearing before planting go up. In the matter of leadership of the local group, the Mamanua still

count on the elders of the group. Young men cannot make decisions for the family group. This practice often results in either overt or covert social conflict. Another source of conflict is the practice of the Mamtown authorities to choose the leader for the Mamanua group, as in the case of the matriarch. The municipal government chose her over the others because she had land property and was to some extent literate. So she is currently the settlement's official *barangay* captain. This appointment however, is contrary to the Mamanua requirements for leadership in the local group. Thus, while the matriarch is obeyed by her own children and some of her immediate consanguine relatives, her leadership is not recognized by all the family heads of the settlement. In meetings, the elder men of the community tend to assume leadership. The fixing of social responsibilities on the kinship group is still strong. Relatives are considered responsible for the social behavior of individuals. A complaint against a person should be coured through his relatives. (1975:261)

GLOSSARY OF PHILIPPINE WORDS

A

<i>Abaka</i>	fibrous vine used in weaving and house construction
<i>Agel</i>	— the rose-colored meal obtained from the fruit of the caryota palm
<i>Agta</i>	— variant form of Ita which is a common designation for Negritos in Luzon
<i>Ahibay</i>	— a socio-economic relationship usually between a Negrito and a lowlander
<i>Aita</i>	— common designation for Negritos in Luzon
<i>Alak</i>	— distilled wine
<i>Al-al</i>	— fruit bat found in the Visayas
<i>Alayon</i>	— working party formed by members of the Negrito band
<i>Aibay</i>	— socio-economic relationship usually between a Negrito and a lowlander
<i>Aliri</i>	— a kind of love song consisting of a series of strophes that should be sung alternately by a boy or a girl
<i>Alugbate</i>	— type of green leafy vegetable
<i>Amas</i>	— spirit of love and pity
<i>Ancha</i>	— dance performed at a wedding with an accompanying song which contains advice for the young couple
<i>Ambak</i>	— post-burial hunting group amongst the Ati of the Visayas
<i>Ananangal</i>	a type of aerial animal
<i>Anibong</i>	a forest product used for house flooring
<i>Anito</i>	myriad of spirits which inhabit the total environment

<i>Anituan</i>	— seance conducted to cure illnesses
<i>Anituan</i>	— shaman
<i>Ap-ap</i>	— <i>Tinia flavia</i>
<i>Ata, Ati</i>	— variant form of Ita which is a common designation for Negritos in Luzon
<i>Awid</i>	— large hornbill

B

<i>Babaylan</i>	— herb doctor or medicine man
<i>Bakatin</i>	— wild pig
<i>Bago</i>	— edible leaves of a tree eaten by Negritos
<i>Bagoong</i>	— paste made from shrimps and salt
<i>Baguio</i>	— storm
<i>Balandang</i>	— evil and very dangerous spirit among the Pinatubo Negritos
<i>Balanisin</i>	— a small plant, the bark of which could cure a person bitten by a large green venomous snake
<i>Balete</i>	— tree in which a spirit is thought to reside
<i>Baliew</i>	— petrification
<i>Baluga</i>	— mestizo or hybrid usually the issue of a Negrito and a lowlander; also a group name given to Negritos by lowlanders of Luzon
<i>Balyan</i>	— shaman in Zambales
<i>Banayong</i>	— poisonous root which the Negritos can treat and make edible
<i>Bandi</i>	— brideprice or bridewealth
<i>Banog</i>	— hawk
<i>Barrio</i>	— district of a municipality
<i>Basi</i>	— intoxicant made from sugar cane

<i>Bugatik</i>	— trap using a spear placed in such a way that the pig impales itself on it
<i>Belasgon</i>	— Filipino custom of mourning for the dead for nine days
<i>Bananganan</i>	— spirit of sickness, punishment and death
<i>Bodian</i>	— shaman
<i>Bola</i>	— personal charm derived from plants
<i>Botbolan</i>	— a tree whose bark can be made into a green
<i>Bolo</i>	— long knife used in agriculture and for hunting
<i>Bongai</i>	— a Mamanua tool for cleaning swidden patch
<i>Bukabl</i>	— a go-between or intermediary used by a couple or their parents when a marriage is being contemplated
<i>Bukaw</i>	— an owl-like bird
<i>Bukid</i>	— mountain
<i>Bugit</i>	— the act of circumcision
<i>Bulhan</i>	— a working group
<i>Bunlay</i>	— tool for weeding resembling a garden trowel
<i>Busik</i>	— large hornbill

K

<i>Kahobongan</i>	— Negrito thanksgiving feast
<i>Kahog</i>	— a fruit bat
<i>Kamgin</i>	— swidden cultivation by clearing and burning a plot of forest land
<i>Kalapi</i>	— the fruit of the rattan vine
<i>Kalaw</i>	— large hornbill
<i>Kamana</i>	— myriad of spirits which inhabit the total environment
<i>Kumbot</i>	— a dress made from the bark of a tree, worn during the <i>ambak</i>

<i>Kamote</i>	— sweet potato
<i>Kapitan</i>	— group leader normally selected or appointed by Filipino authorities
<i>Kasal</i>	— a wedding ceremony
<i>Katala</i>	— supreme spirit in Zambales
<i>Katalunan</i>	— a shaman
<i>Katamba</i>	— the wife of <i>Katala</i>
<i>Katana</i>	— spirit residing in the bolo
<i>Katapusan</i>	— feast held at the end of the nine days of mourning
<i>Kayaw</i>	— large hornbill
<i>Kogon</i>	— tough grass which grows readily on areas which have been cleared for <i>kaingan</i>
<i>Kolumboy</i>	— bat which lives in holes in trees
<i>Konanaba</i>	— bat which lives in dark thickets
<i>Konseyal</i>	— name given to leader appointed by Filipino authorities
<i>Kumpadre</i>	— godfather but locally having a close social relationship with the father of the child of whom he is godfather
<i>Kuritan</i>	— Negrito guitar with five strings; usually made from bamboo.

D

<i>Daga</i>	— ritual performed after sickness
<i>Dapdap</i>	— fire tree
<i>Dikidikon</i>	— bat living in the banana tree
<i>Didi</i>	— burial ceremony
<i>Diliman</i>	— a kind of fern
<i>Diwatan</i>	— shaman

- Doant* — ritual performed after sickness
Dagan — rattan hammock

E

- Elnoked* — term applied to Agta who live away from lowlanders
Esuidno — concept of hell introduced by the Spanish
Eta — variant form of Ita which is a common designation for Negritos in Luzon

G

- Gahong* — a pit trap for catching animals
Gama — spirit controlling game
Gavis — ringworm
Gana — tool for weeding resembling a garden trowel

H

- Halo* — monitor lizard
Hangot — ritual performed when training hunting dogs
Hayo — monitor lizard
Herbolaryo — herb doctor
Himaa — medicinal cure-all
Hitam — Malay word for black
Huhak — shaman

I

- Ibad* — water lizard
Ilokano — native of the province of Ilokos, Northern Luzon

<i>Inak-ak</i>	— type of tree used for housing material
<i>Inolokan</i>	— thanksgiving feast
<i>Ita</i>	— common designation for Negritos in Luzon
<i>Itum</i>	— means black in many Philippine languages
<i>Iwe</i>	— feast of all the spirits

L

<i>Labid</i>	— palm leaves
<i>Lagsao</i>	— deer
<i>Laman</i>	— tree whose bark is used as housing material
<i>Lamparilla</i>	— a flat dish or empty bottle with a cotton wick; used for lighting
<i>Langkapan</i>	— coffin
<i>Lata</i>	— pollen found in hives
<i>Lepwang</i>	— the act of eloping
<i>Libod</i>	— wicked spirit
<i>Lih</i>	— ritual performed to ensure good harvest
<i>Lipat</i>	— a festive Negrito dance
<i>Litlit</i>	— bat living in bamboo thickets
<i>Lolid</i>	— spirit which brings illness when stepped upon
<i>Lueve</i>	— spirit of production and growth
<i>Luhob</i>	— long bamboo container
<i>Lumay</i>	— love potion
<i>Luya-luya</i>	— medicine prepared from ginger root

M

<i>Makopa</i>	— rose apple tree with fleshy, juicy fruit
<i>Magbabaya</i>	— supreme being of the Mamanua
<i>Malunggay</i>	— horse radish tree
<i>Mana</i>	— charm possessed by one individual

<i>Mamandak</i>	— herb doctor or medicine man
<i>Manganito</i>	— medium or shaman
<i>Mangpa</i>	— type of gum found in forest area
<i>Matadung</i>	— elder or patriarch; judge

N

<i>Nego</i>	— winnowing basket
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O

<i>Okong</i>	— a type of animal whose eggs are eaten by the Negritos
<i>Ongli</i>	— a powerful deity of the Mamanua

P

<i>Panaon</i>	— shooting an arrow
<i>Panolag</i>	— evil spirit which can take possession of the body
<i>Panulang</i>	— marriage negotiations
<i>Panuputan</i>	— band of Negritos
<i>Pasaka</i>	— ritual performed over dead relative of medicine man
<i>Pauang</i>	— shaman
<i>Pann kamote</i>	— dance regarding the potato
<i>Panapanlan</i>	— dance depicting the catching and smoking of bees
<i>Pann panban</i>	— dance regarding the bee
<i>Pasen</i>	— the group of elders
<i>Poluan</i>	— police
<i>Papahan</i>	— fish-tailed palm
<i>Papat</i>	— dark skinned, small
<i>P'at</i>	— honey

<i>Pute</i>	— Malay Filipino farmer
<i>Puyang</i>	— shaman

R

<i>Rattan</i>	— fibrous vine which bears fruit and is also used in making baskets and furniture
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S

<i>Sakad</i>	— pre-marriage contract meetings
<i>Sakayan</i>	— ritual performed when an epidemic occurs
<i>Sag-ub</i>	— bamboo water container
<i>Sala</i>	— living room
<i>Sankil</i>	— a type of aerial animal
<i>Sawa</i>	— serpent
<i>Sehebi</i>	— bride service
<i>Sikay</i>	— root crop
<i>Singgalong maral</i>	— wild cat
<i>Solondon</i>	— ritual performed over drowned father to prevent sons from meeting the same fate
<i>Sukdon</i>	— a medium communicating with the spirits among the Mamanua
<i>Sumpa</i>	— ritual performed to ensure good harvest
<i>Suyo</i>	— resin torch

T

<i>Tabong</i>	— middleman
<i>Tabu-an, Tabu</i>	— barrio market
<i>Taga</i>	— fibrous vine
<i>Tagalog</i>	— people and language of Central Luzon
<i>Taglugar tagipuyo</i>	— spirits of natural things
<i>Talo</i>	— beeswax

<i>Tana</i>	— spirit who herds and owns game
<i>Tan-tas</i>	— rose apple tree with fleshy, juicy fruit
<i>Tanwand</i>	— lemon grass
<i>Tapis</i>	— wraparound skirt worn by women
<i>Talang</i>	— rattan-leaf shingles
<i>Tadadin</i>	— bat living in palm tree
<i>Taqbalog</i>	— spirit which inflicts injury on people
<i>Taba</i>	— wine made from coconut palm

U

<i>Uhad</i>	— heart of the bud of palm tree
<i>Ukum</i>	— judge
<i>Ulam</i>	— the main dish of a meal
<i>Umok</i>	— young bees
<i>Undas</i>	— Negrito dance
<i>Uplig</i>	— tree which provides bark for guitar strings.
<i>Utang na loob</i>	— debt of gratitude
<i>Uwak</i>	— crow

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AGENCIES INDIVIDUALS

I. AGENCIES DEVELOPMENT WORK AMONG NEGRIITO COMMUNITIES

A. Negritos of the Philippines General

1. Commission on Development and Social Concerns
National Council of Churches in the Philippines
SCLISA, Quezon City

Co. Rev. Henry B. Aguilan
Executive Director

2. Episcopal Commission on Tribal Filipinos
CAP Building, Room 15
372 Catibao St., Intramuros

Co. Fr. Anton Kortenk

Nature of Work: Bishops' Commission on Cultural
Communities, concerned with all and especially with
Catholic missions.

B. Negritos of Luzon

3. Burt, Ralph
UCCP Missionary
19 Constellation
Bel Air 2 Makati

Luzon Negritos

Nature of Work: Cooperatives

4. Dela Cruz, Fr. Jose
Priest
O'Donnell (Patting)
Cebu, Tarlac

Tarlac Negritos

5. Development Agency
c/o Pampanga (DAP)
Cebu City, Pampanga, Ag. 1000 St.,
Luzon, Pampanga, Makati

**Ayta-Baluga of
Pampanga and Tarlac**

c/o Dr. Carlos Fernandez
Samuel P. Gaabucayan

Nature of Work: Framework Plan for
the Resettlement of Two Villages

6. Ecumenical Foundation
for Minority Development Inc.
Kakilingan
San Marcelino, Zambales

Zambales Negritos,
particularly
San Marcelino
and New Cabalan

Nature of Work: Socio-economic
development; the introduction of
settled agriculture, education,
medical assistance, etc.

7. Franciscan Missionaries
of Mary (FMM)
Poonbato, Botolan
Zambales

Aetas of Poonbato,
Botolan, Zambales

c/o Sr. Avelina Jimeno, FMM

Nature of Work: Scholarship Program,
Peanut Plantation Pro-
ject, Community Or-
ganization, Evangeliza-
tion

8. Hipolito, Pedro
Regional Director
Panamin Reg. III
San Fernando, Pampanga

Negrito Settlements
in Region III

9. Holy Family Academy
Angeles City
San Fernando, Pampanga
c/o Sr. Celine Saplala, OSB

Pampanga Negritos—
Baluga

10. Loreda, Roy
Supervisor
Nabuklod Baluga Village
Floridablanca, Pampanga

Baluga of Pampanga

11. McKeating, Fr. Colm
Columban Father
Calaban, Olongapo

Subic Base Negritos

12. New Tribes Mission
359 Shaw Blvd.
Mandaluyong,
Metro Manila
c/o Les Plett

Dumagats

13. Nutrition Center of the
Philippines Community
Intervention Section
P.O. Box 653 MCC,
Makati
or South Superhighway
Fort Bonifacio
Nichols Interchange
Makati, Metro Manila
c/o Beatriz A. Picar

Dumagat in Sierra Madre
Mountains covering the
Bicol Region, Quezon,
Rizal and Bulacan

Nature of Work: Food
Assistance, Food
Production, Health Pro-
tection, Nutrition Edu-
cation, Infrastructure
Development

14. Pangilinan, Msgr. Felipe C.,
Administrator
Baluga Project
Floridablanca, Pampanga

Baluga of Pampanga

15. Presidential Adviser on
National Minorities
(PANAMIN)
ITC Bldg., Buendia Ave.
Makati, Metro Manila
with
EXCAG (Executive
Council and Action Group
of the National Council on
Cultural Communities —
NCCC)

Bangkal Aeta Settlement
Abucay, Bataan;
Pita Aeta Settlement
Dinalupihan, Bataan

c/o Dorie L. Dandan
Special Projects Director

Nature of Work:
Total Community Development (in coordination with 45 heads of government agencies)

16. Robb, Fr. Peter, CSSR
Redemptorist Fathers Convent
Baclaran, Parañaque

Dumagat

17. Rural Missionaries
of Our Lady of Fatima
Iriga City
Camarines Sur
c/o Sr. Felicitas de Lima

Ata of Camarines Sur
(near Iriga City)

Nature of Work:
Community-Based
Adult Education Program, Housing

18. Saman, Fr. Jean
Parish Priest
Batobalani, Paracale
Camarines Norte

Camarines Norte Negritos

19. Social Action Center
Archbishop's Residence
Naga City

Camarines Sur Negritos

c/o Fr. Alberto Nero
Social Action Director

20. Social Action Center
Bishop's Residence
San Fernando, Pampanga

Pampanga Negritos

c/o Sr. M. Beatrice Bais, OSB
Assistant Social Action Director

21. Social Action Center
Sanchez Mira, Cagayan
Archdiocese of
Tuguegarao

Cagayan Negritos

c/o Fr. German Cubillo, SVD
 Social Action Coordinator
 Sr. Laurence, CFIC
 Sr. Marietta, CFIC

22. Tima, Rufino
 Project Director
 San Marcelino, Zambales
 Nature of Work: Zambales
 Negrito Farmer Scholars
 Agri-Skills Training Project

Kakilingan, Bug and
 Baliwet Settlements of
 the Negrito Reservation

23. Wehnman, Dr. Richard
 Methodist
 San Fernando, Pampanga

Luzon Negritos

24. Youth Arm for Commu-
 nity Advancement and
 Development Foundation,
 Inc. (YACAD)
 Suite 507, Dona Amparo
 Bldg., Espana St.,
 Sampaloc, Metro Manila
 c/o Rudy Derequito
 Nature of Work: Nutrition
 Cooperatives,
 Functional Literacy

Bulacan Dumagats

C. Negritos of the Visayas

25. Department of Education
 and Culture
 Division of Formal Edu-
 cation
 San Jose, Antique
 c/o Jose Panaguiton
 Provincial Superin-
 tendent of Schools
 Nature of Work: Formal
 Education

Negritos of Tina,
 Hamtic, Antique

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| <p>26. Department of Health
San Jose, Antique</p> <p>Nature of Work:
Medical Services</p> | <p>Negritos of Tina,
Hamtic, Antique</p> |
| <p>27. Department of Social
Services and Development
San Jose, Antique</p> <p>c/o Antonieta P. Escalona
Provincial Social Welfare
Officer</p> <p>Nature of Work:
Informal Education,
Self-employment As-
sistance Program, Fa-
mily Planning, Emer-
gency Assistance,
Physical Fitness and
Sports Development
for Out-of-School
Youth.</p> | <p>Negritos of Tina,
Hamtic, Antique</p> |
| <p>28. Department of Social
Services and Development
Unit IX, Barotac Viejo
Iloilo</p> <p>c/o Ma. Rosario Tadifa
Sr. Social Worker
Head of DSSD Unit IX</p> <p>Nature of Work:
Social Services</p> | <p>Negritos of Barotac
Viejo, Iloilo</p> |
| <p>29. Doane Baptist Bible
Institute
Iloilo City</p> <p>c/o Rev. Glorioso Mijares</p> | <p>Negritos of Nagpana
Barotac Viejo, Iloilo</p> |
| <p>30. Kasapulawan ng Baptist
Churches of Negros Island
Bacolod Evangelical Church
Rosario St., Bacolod City</p> | <p>Negritos in the mountain
areas of Toboso and
Kalatrava, North
Negros Occidental</p> |

- Nature of Work: Literacy
Class, Evan-
gelism, Farming
Methods, Help Secure
Land Titles, Health
Welfare and Free
Medicine
31. Provincial Development
Staff
San Jose, Antique
Nature of Work: Informal
Education,
Health and Sanitation;
Childcare
Negritos of Tina,
Hamtic, Antique
32. Provincial Government
(Provincial Development
Staff and Provincial
Infrastructure Office)
San Jose, Antique
Nature of Work: Infrastructure
Negritos of Tina,
Hamtic, Antique
33. Silliman University
Extension Council
Silliman University
Dumaguete City
Negros Oriental
Cangguhob, Mabinay
Negritos; Bago Negritos
c/o Prof. Eulalio Maturan
Dr. Hubert Reynolds
Prof. Salvador Vista
Nature of Work: Agricultural
Development, Literacy, Spirit-
ual Growth, Periodic
measuring or assessing
of various programs
under the 6 Task Goals
(Family Life Develop-
ment, Economic Dev-
elopment, Educational
Development, Health
Development and Reli-
gious and Aesthetic
Development) with the
process goal of involve-
ment and relationship
goal of integration

D. Negritos of Mindanao

34. Social Action Center
Bishop's Palace
Surigao City

Mamanuas of Kantugas

c/o Henrietta Besario

Nature of Work: Community Education
and Agricultural
Production

On December 10, 1962, a group of businessmen, labor leaders, and progressive politicians, in respectability to his country.

Since its four-year history, it has served as a united and to the country's economic

The PBSP is a self-help community

PBSP is providing a development projects, projects, and income, and to encourage the growth of such economic pockets or urban centers. It has contributed to the knowledge about the program which can be used by the community. And as an effective complement to government efforts in development, it has been a private and

fifty Filipino business leaders, laborers, and formed the Philippine Business and Social Program. It is a knowledge of the business and social and its people.

A non-stock, non-profit organization, it has a democratic response to the various economic problems.

It has contributed to the economic growth of the country through its various projects and programs.

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